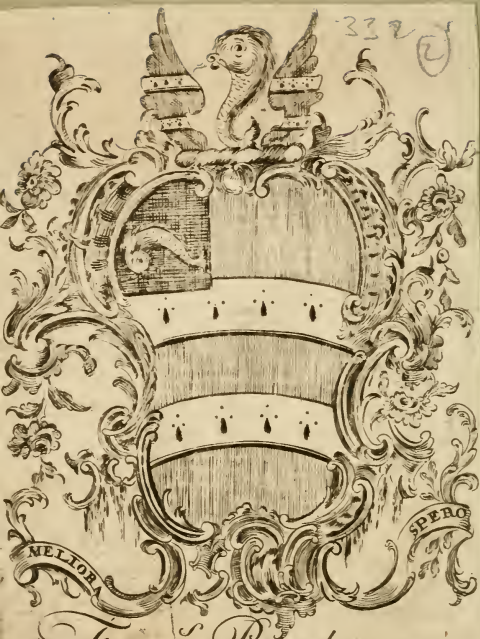


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Fran. Pantón,

AGH

British



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G. R.

WHEREAS Our trusty and well-beloved EDWARD DILLY, of our city of London, Bookseller, hath, by his petition, humbly represented unto us, that he hath undertaken to print and publish a work, called *The British Plutarch, or Biographical Entertainer*; being a select collection of the lives at large of the most eminent men, natives of Great Britain and Ireland, from the reign of king Henry the Eighth, to that of our late Royal Grandfather. both inclusive; in the prosecution of which he hath been at great trouble and expence in procuring access to antient records, memoirs, papers, and other authentic intelligence: as well as engaging several gentlemen of learning and abilities, to compile from those materials, in such a stile and method, as to render that work more amusing and universally useful, than any thing of the kind. that has hitherto made its appearance. And, being desirous of reaping the fruits of his said labour and expence, and enjoying the full profit and benefit that may arise from vending the above-mentioned valuable

able work, without any other person's interfering in his just property ; he hath therefore most humbly prayed us to grant him Our Royal Licence, for the sole printing, publishing, and vending, the said work. We do therefore, by these presents, so far as may be agreeable to the statute in that case made and provided, grant unto him, the said EDWARD DILLY, his executors, administrators, and assigns, Our Royal Licence, for the sole printing, publishing, and vending, the said work, for the term of fourteen years ; strictly forbidding all our subjects, within our kingdoms and dominions, to reprint, abridge, or publish the same, either in the like, or any other volume, or volumes, whatsoever ; or to import, buy, vend, utter or distribute, any copies thereof reprinted beyond the seas, during the aforesaid term of fourteen years, without the consent and approbation of the said EDWARD DILLY, his heirs, executors, and assigns, under their hands and seals first had and obtained, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. Wherefore the commissioners, and other officers of the customs, the master, wardens, and company of stationers, are to take notice, that due obedience may be rendered to our will and pleasure herein declared.

Given at our Court at St. James's this Twentieth Day of January, 1762, in the Second Year of Our Reign.

By his MAJESTY's Command:

EGREMONT.





CONTENT

OF THE

FIRST VOLUM

CARDINAL Wolsey, - -

Sir Thomas More, - - - 57

Doctor Colet, - - - - 98

Cromwell, Earl of Essex, - - 125

Cardinal Beatoun, - - - - 152



ИЗДАНИЕ

ЧАСТЬ I

ОБЩЕЕ СООБЩЕНИЕ

Содержание

1. Введение

2. Общие сведения

3. Заключение

4. Приложение

5. Литература

6. Заключение

7. Приложение

8. Литература

9. Заключение

10. Приложение



Восточные
Языки
Библиотека

TO THE
K I N G.

S I R E,

THE design of the following work is to convey instruction by the channel of amusement, and by recording the actions of illustrious men, to enforce, by such examples, the practice of those virtues, which are most conducive to the prosperity of a state, as well as of private societies ; while the errors which will now and then discover themselves in the most shining characters, are pointed out, and made use of as a shade

VOL. I.

A

to

DEDICATION.

to display the brightness of more exalted qualities to greater advantage.

This being the plan they have laid down to themselves, to whom can the authors of the *BRITISH PLUTARCH* with so much propriety dedicate their labours, as to a monarch, who in himself affords a living pattern of all those great and social endowments, which they strive to recommend; who is as careful to discountenance vice, as he is incapable of committing it; and enjoys the glory of being in reality whatever flattery hath hitherto endeavoured to make princes appear.

But it would be an unpardonable presumption for us to attempt

DEDICATION.

tempt in this place a panegyric on your Majesty's virtues ; besides, that in doing so, we could only repeat the daily conversation of every individual in your three kingdoms : we shall content ourselves, therefore, with paying the tribute of silent admiration, and entreating your Majesty's gracious acceptance of what we now most humbly lay at your feet ; not as an offering worthy of you, but as a small testimony of our veneration and duty.

That your Majesty may still enjoy an uninterrupted series of health and prosperity ; that you may live many, many years, to be the patron of arts, the encourager of learning, the asserter of liberty, the defender of religion, and the

DEDICATION.

father of your country ; and that you may leave a numerous progeny behind you, to perpetuate those inestimable blessings to an affectionate and grateful people, are the ardent wishes of,

SIRE,

Your Majesty's

Most dutiful,

And obedient

Subjects and Servants,

The EDITORS.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

OUR modern prefaces are so seldom looked into, and are in general of so little use, that the authors of the following work should not have imposed one upon their readers, had they not, in their proposals, referred the public, for some account of their design, to what they intended to say in such a preliminary address in their first volume : for this reason, they shall avoid flourishes of all kinds ; and, considering brevity as the point chiefly to be aimed at, content themselves with just mentioning in what they think all formal collections of English Biography have been faulty ; and the means by which they hope to render their own preferable to every thing of the kind that has gone before.

Among the few collections of national lives that have hitherto been published in this kingdom, the *Biographia Britannica* undoubtedly stands foremost, we had almost said alone, in merit; but containing six volumes in folio, which cost upwards of ten pounds, its size and price have confined it to a particular class of readers, and rendered it much fitter for the library than the closet: add too, that its method (being digested in the manner of a dictionary, and giving a great deal more in notes, than uninterrupted narrative) hath left it rather as a useful and faithful register, to be applied to for occasional information, than a book for ordinary perusal. Indeed, though some of the lives to be found in it afford all that entertainment which we make one of the principal objects of our own attention, there are, from the nature of its plan, such a multitude of others, which give little more than
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the name, and birth-place of the person treated of, that the former can hardly be considered as a compensation for the dryness and sterility of the latter, in any sense, but such as we have above mentioned : and in this latter class we comprehend all those smaller Biographical vocabularies, called dictionaries, which yield no manner of entertainment, but are compiled like parish registers, and give just as satisfactory an account of the lives of illustrious men, as the Dutch almanacks do of the reigning kings and princes of Europe.

If there be any truth in the foregoing remarks, as we flatter ourselves there is, the work now ushered into the world will require very little apology ; the imperfections of former Biographers in the same tract, are sufficiently ascertained, and in consequence, the expediency of a collection, better calculated for a general circulation. To this we have

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endeavoured to contribute, by our manner of publication, and the cheapness and smallness of our volumes : but not only so ; we have likewise been more than ordinarily studious, to render the contents of our volumes both useful and entertaining, and to discharge our narrative of every circumstance likely to render it confused or tedious.

With this view we have not commenced our memoirs from the earliest annals, because we apprehend, that the lights to be drawn from remoter ages, especially with regard to such individuals as flourished in those periods, are extremely weak and imperfect ; but if they were not so, what examples do the times of ignorance, barbarity, and superstition afford, worthy of being held up to posterity ? perhaps here and there one ; but so defaced by the rust of antiquity, or so slightly sketched, thro' the incapacity or inattentiveness of cotem-

temporaries, as to shew few traces, from whence a regular draught can be formed. We begin our accounts in that age, in which truth and learning began to dawn, or rather blazed at once upon mankind, after many centuries of impenetrable darkness; when, in our own country in particular, opposite principles began to form distinct characters, and the great and good equally displayed themselves in the most conspicuous stations.

But even in the prosecution of this plan, we shall proceed with caution, and select our materials with a scrupulous nicety, in regard to what amusement they may afford. There have been many eminent men at all times, in every rank and profession, whose names are justly famous; yet, when their lives come to be written, they prove so barren of incidents, that the coldest curiosity goes from them unsatisfied. For
this

while it is a useful monitor : it will contain several new lives, never before published. The greatest care will be taken in the necessary embellishments, and the public may be assured, that the work shall not exceed twelve volumes, nor be discontinued any month till the whole is complete, which will then stand the purchaser in no more than eighteen shillings.





T H E
BRITISH PLUTARCH.



THE LIFE OF
CARDINAL WOLSEY.

 H O M A S W O L S E Y, afterwards the famous cardinal, affords us, in his life, one of the most extraordinary examples to be met with in history, of the variableness and uncertainty of human events; who being but the son of a poor butcher in the little town of Ipswich in Suffolk, was, from that mean beginning, raised to the highest stations both in church and state: but, like an idol, set up by fortune, merely to shew her power, was again, in an instant, tumbled from all his greatness; and reduced even to a more wretched condition than that from which he was originally taken. 'Tis true indeed, he enjoyed the advantage of a liberal

education; for we find, that his father observing in him an uncommon aptness to learn, sent him by times to the grammar-school; from whence, through the interest and generosity of friends, he was removed to, and maintained at the university of Oxford: But here he made a progress, which is altogether astonishing. His servant Cavendish assures us, that a very few months after entering Magdalene college, and so early as his fifteenth year, Wolfey was made a bachelor of arts; in consequence of which he was called, The boy-bachelor: He was then admitted to a fellowship in the same college; and in the end nominated master of Magdalene school, where the sons of the then marquis of Dorset were placed for their education.

This was a circumstance extremely lucky for the new preceptor; for the marquis, sending for his sons, on the succeeding Christmas, to pass the holidays at his country seat, invited the master along with the scholars; and he was so highly pleased with Wolfey's conversation, who, to his universal knowledge, added a most insinuating address; and found the young gentlemen so much improved for the short time they had been under his care; that he determined to reward such merit and diligence with some distinguished mark of approbation: and a benefice in his lordship's gift falling vacant during the vacation, he bestowed it on Wolfey, which was his first ecclesiastical preferment.

This

This happened in the year one thousand five hundred, our cardinal being then about twenty-two years old : and as soon as he returned from his noble patron's seat, he was instituted to the rectory of Lymington. But here he met with an indignity, which, to a man of his acknowledged haughtiness, must have been cruelly provoking. One Sir Amias Pawlet, a gentleman of Hampshire, and one of Wolsey's parishioners, conceived a violent displeasure against him. It has been said indeed, that Wolsey, by a scandalous licentiousness in his behaviour, drew upon himself the knight's resentment ; and it should seem that something very extraordinary, though now uncertain, was the cause ; and something very different from a private pique ; since Sir Amias inflicted on him a legal punishment, and one which, considering his character, would hardly have been inflicted on a slight occasion. In a word, the knight set the doctor in the stocks : and when Wolsey came to be lord high chancellor of England, he did not forget the affront ; for, sending for Sir Amias Pawlet up to London, after having very sharply reprimanded him for his former indecent and disrespectful behaviour towards a clergyman ; and a person to whom, as a pastor, he owed obedience ; he shewed him it was then his turn to punish ; and ordered, that Sir Amias, on no account should presume to quit the capital, without a licence first obtained : in consequence of which

prohibition, that gentleman continued in the Middle Temple no less than six years; though he endeavoured by many little acts of adulation and submission, to soften the cardinal's anger.

But, to return to the thread of our narrative. This mortifying accident gave Wolsey a distaste to Lymington; and the death of his patron, the marquis of Dorset, which happened shortly after, finally determined him to leave it. It does not appear how he disposed of himself, immediately upon his quitting this place. But the next situation we find him in, is, that of chaplain to Dr. Dean, archbishop of Canterbury; a station to which the author of the British antiquities is inclinable to think, Wolsey recommended himself by his own assiduity, rather than by the interest of others. Here he grew greatly in favour with the most reverend prelate, and by his means the name of Wolsey was for the first time mentioned at the court of Rome; the pope, at the archbishop's request, granting his chaplain a dispensation to hold two benefices, a thing which in those days appeared very singular. However, this was the greatest advantage Wolsey reaped from his connection with Dr. Dean, that prelate being suddenly taken off; so that he was again soon obliged to look out for another patron.

A man of true parts, and proportionable industry, is seldom disappointed in any views on which he employs the whole strength of his understanding.

derstanding. Wolsey found in himself a particular inclination to a court-life; and, from several of his expressions, it should seem as if he had been prepossessed with a notion of the wealth, and grandeur, which awaited him in that sphere; he resolved therefore to attach himself to some person capable of introducing him to people in power; and having, during his residence in the west of England, contracted an acquaintance with Sir John Nephant, who, at the time of archbishop Dean's death, was governor of Calais, and the great favourite of Henry VII, he thought he could not do better than offer his service there; and Sir John being just on the point of going over to Calais, he took Wolsey along with him as one of his domestic chaplains.

Now a new scene opened, and Wolsey began to act a part much better adapted to his talents, though very different from any he had hitherto played. Sir John Nephant was an old man, in want of some person able to relieve him from the heavy load of government; and being, as we may suppose, previously acquainted with his chaplain's abilities, he made very little difficulty of committing every thing to his care and management. Wolsey by no means forfeited the great trust reposed in him, he discharged the office of governor, with extraordinary order, skill, and fidelity; and upon Sir John's being, at his own request, called home, when he retired to pass the remainder of his days in the country, he recommended Wolsey

in a particular manner to the king; and, as a reward of his faithful services, had the satisfaction of seeing him inrolled among the number of royal chaplains.

Thus Wolsey at last cast anchor in his desired port; and he did not scruple to say, that there were no advantages, however great, which he did not expect in consequence of that event. However, as he knew that a bare settlement at court was not sufficient to secure a man's future fortune, without a peculiar interest among the courtiers, he enquired out such as were most acceptable to the king; and paid his devoirs with such success to Fox bishop of Winchester, and Sir Thomas Lovel, the then reigning favourites; that in a little time he was considered by every body as a rising man; nor was it long before the friends which he had made by his address were enabled to shew their readiness to serve him.

In the year 1513, the emperor Maximilian being arrived in Germany, king Henry recollected an agreement which he had made with the late Philip of Spain, about espousing his sister Margaret, and then seemed desirous to consummate the intended marriage: but as there were some previous points to be settled with the emperor, it put him upon enquiring after a proper person to send as his ambassador, in order to conclude matters. Wolsey's office had given him frequent opportunities of being in the king's presence; he had even, upon some occasions, contrived to attract his majesty's
notice :

notice: he was no sooner mentioned therefore by Fox and Lovel, as one excellently qualified to perform the service Henry required, than the king commanded him immediately to be sent for; and on some private discourse, being fully satisfied of his capacity, his dispatches were speedily ordered, and on the next Sunday, at four o'clock in the afternoon, he set forward from Richmond, at which place Henry VII. then kept his court.

But how was Henry surprized, in less than three days after, to see Wolsey present himself before him! Supposing he had protracted his departure, he at first began to reprove him for the dilatory execution of his orders; but Wolsey informed him (as was really the case, through many favourable circumstances which concurred in expediting his journey) that he was just returned from Brussels, and had successfully settled the negotiation with which he was charged. "Ay! said the king, "but, on second thoughts I
 " found somewhat had been omitted in your
 " instructions, and I sent a messenger after
 " you, with fuller powers." To which Wolsey
 replied, "That he had indeed met the messen-
 " ger on the road in his return, and received
 " the powers his majesty mentioned; but hav-
 " ing, during his stay at the imperial court,
 " preconceived the purport of them, and the
 " close connection that business bore with his
 " majesty's service, he had presumed, on his
 " own authority, to rectify what he con-
 sidered

“sidered as a mistake in his commission, and
 “humbly implored pardon for daring to ex-
 “ceed it.”

The death of Henry VII. soon after this incident, was the reason why Wolsey received no mark of that monarch's good opinion, unless we reckon the deanry of Lincoln, and the place of almoner to the king : but the Bp. of Winchester from that moment redoubled his affection ; and observing, upon the commencement of the next reign, that the earl of Surry stood too much between him and the throne, he introduced Wolsey into the young king's familiarity, that he might rival that nobleman in his insinuating arts, and yet be content to act in the cabinet a part subordinate to the person who had promoted him. But here the bishop was wretchedly mistaken in his policy ; for, in a little time, Wolsey gained so much on Henry's good graces, that he not only supplanted Surry in his favour, but Fox in his trust and confidence.

The youthful character of Henry VIII. is well known, which was as remarkable for gaiety and dissipation, as his maturer years were for cruelty and injustice ; and it seems to be upon this basis, that Wolsey began to build his fortune ; for being admitted to all the royal parties of pleasure, he was ever the most facetious in company, and appeared studious to promote by a thousand devices that mirth and festivity, which were so suitable to his master's age and inclination. But what greatly contributed

tributed to fix Wolsey in the king's esteem, was, the grand expedition, which, in the fifth year of his reign, he led in person against the kingdom of France. He committed the whole charge of furnishing and providing that vast fleet and army to the almoner: and Wolsey, though the task to him was new, and to any one must have been difficult, took it upon him without repining, to shew that he would not scruple his sovereign's commands in any thing. The apparatus was ordered in the compleatest manner, and the success of Henry's arms extraordinary: but an emperor of Germany, having received pay from, and served under, a king of England; and the famous battle of Guinegate, or Spurs, as it is generally called, because the French, in that action, made more use of their spurs than their swords; have rendered the events of this expedition too notorious to warrant a repetition here: yet we may not omit to mention, that Henry having laid siege to, and taken Tournay, conferred the bishopric of that see on Wolsey, as a recompence for his attendance on this warlike enterprize: and that, as soon as his majesty returned to England, after having settled all affairs to his satisfaction on the continent, he further distinguished his favourite, by giving him the bishopric of Lincoln, just then vacant by the death of Dr. Smith; whose goods Wolsey found a way to get into his hands; and great part of them, as Cavendish observes, were employed in furnishing a house the king

be-

bestowed on him, near Bridewell: though we find, that not long after his translation to the archbishopric of York, he removed from thence to York house now Whitehall, where he remained to the time of his declension.

We have already mentioned Henry's extreme love of pleasure, which Wolsey was always industrious to stimulate; we shall, in this place, give a description of one of the sumptuous entertainments he provided for that monarch; as it will at once shew the cardinal's magnificence, and the gallantry of those days, so widely different from what we see at present. I have known the king (says Cavendish) come suddenly to my lord cardinal's house in a mask, with a dozen noblemen dressed like shepherds in gold and silver tissue, having six torchbearers, besides drummers and other attendants all masked, and clothed in sattin. His majesty came by water, and immediately at his landing, several cannon, which were placed ready for the purpose, being discharged; his eminency, (who was then sitting at a banquet with a great company of gentlemen and ladies) as though he knew nothing of the matter, sent his chamberlain to know what the firing of the guns meant. Now (says Cavendish) the order of the feast was as follows: The tables were set in the presence chamber covered; my lord cardinal sitting under a rich canopy at the upper end, at a table by himself. Then there were set a lady and a nobleman, a gentleman and gentlewoman, through all the tables:
which

which order was contrived by my lord Sands, lord chamberlain to the king, and Sir Henry Guilford, his majesty's comptroller. Then word was immediately brought the cardinal, that several noble strangers were arrived, who, as it was supposed, were come ambassadors from some foreign prince; upon which, desiring them to be directly introduced; the king and his company entered the chamber amidst the noise of drums and flutes, and going by two and two up to the cardinal's seat, the whole band saluted him. Then the chamberlain, addressing the cardinal, said; "Sir, Forasmuch as these strangers cannot speak English, they have desired me to declare unto you, that having understanding of this your triumphant banquet, and assembly of such a number of fair dames; they could do no less (under the supportation of your grace) than view as well their incomparable beauties, as accompany them in mum-chance, and after that dance with them, so as to beget their better acquaintance. And furthermore, they require of your grace licence to accomplish this cause of their coming." To which the cardinal answered, That he was willing, and very well content they should do so."

Then the maskers went, and having saluted all the ladies round, a gold cup was uncovered by one of them filled with crowns and other pieces of money. After which another taking out a pair of dice, they played at hazard with
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the ladies, winning from some, and losing to others; till tired of that sport, they again went towards the cardinal, and pouring down their gold, which amounted to above two hundred crowns before him; "At all," cried his eminence; and throwing the dice, won it; at which, adds Cavendish, there was great joy. Then said the cardinal to my lord chamberlain, "I pray you tell these gentlemen, that to me it seemeth that there should be a nobleman among them, that better deserves to sit in this place than I, to whom I should gladly surrender the same, according to my duty, if I knew him." Then my lord chamberlain addressing himself to the company in French, returned to the cardinal, and said, "Sir, they confess, that among them is such a noble personage, whom if your grace can point out from the rest, he is contented to disclose himself, and accept of your place." Upon this the cardinal taking good advice, went among them; at last, said he, "It seemeth to me that the gentleman with the black beard should be the one I want." And with that he rose out of his chair, and offered it to him: but the cardinal was out; for the person to whom he then offered his chair was Sir Edward Neville, a gentleman very genteel and well made, who more resembled his majesty's person than any other in the mask. You may be sure this mistake caused some sport. The king laughed heartily at the cardinal's being deceived; and pulling down his own vizard,

and

and Sir Edward Neville's, with much good humour, was intreated by the whole company to take his place. But he made answer, "He would first go and shift him." And accordingly retiring into the cardinal's bedchamber, where there was a great fire, and every thing laid ready, he put on a magnificent habit; and then coming again into the chamber with his maskers, who were all new dressed also, he took his seat under the canopy, commanding every body to sit still, as they had done before. During the king's absence the former service had been entirely removed, and the table covered a-new with clean perfumed cloathes; and now there was brought in a banquet of two hundred dishes: and so (says Cavendish) our noble company passed the night in banqueting and dancing till morning.

It was about this time that the duke of Norfolk, finding the exchequer almost exhausted, was glad to resign his office of treasurer, and retire from court. Fox too, bishop of Winchester, partly overcome by years and infirmities, and partly disgusted at the ascendant acquired by Wolsey (though we do not find the cardinal ever slackened his respect or affection towards his old benefactor) withdrew himself entirely to the care of his diocese. The duke of Suffolk also had taken offence; that the king, by the cardinal's persuasion, had refused to pay a debt, which he had contracted during his abode in France; and he thenceforth affected to live in privacy. These

incidents left Wolsey without a rival, and his power over the king became absolute ; though, when Fox, before his retirement, warned Henry “ not to suffer the servant to be greater than his master.” That prince replied, “ That he knew well how to retain all his subjects in obedience.”

But it was a master stroke of policy in our artful prelate, that while he secretly directed all public councils, he still pretended a blind submission to the royal will ; by that means concealing from his sovereign, whose imperious temper would otherwise have ill brooked a director, the absolute power he was gaining over him. And Henry, in nothing more violent than his attachments while they lasted ; thought he could never sufficiently reward a man so entirely devoted to his pleasure and service. In consequence of this, Wolsey held at one time such a multitude of preferments, as no churchman besides himself was ever endowed with ; he was even suffered to unite with the see of York, the bishopricks of Durham and Winchester, with the rich abbey of St. Albans ; till the pope observing the daily progress he made in the king’s favour, and that in fact he governed the nation, became desirous of engaging so powerful a minister in the interest of the apostolic state, and to complete, his exaltation at once, created him a cardinal, under the title of St. Cecilia, beyond the river Tyber.

The

The grandeur which Wolsey assumed upon this new acquisition of dignity, is hardly to be paralleled ; the splendor of his equipage, and costliness of his apparel, exceeds all description. He caused his cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a person of rank ; and, when he came to the king's chapel, would permit it to be laid on no place but the altar. A priest, the tallest and most comely he could find, carried before him a pillar of silver, on the top of which was placed a cross : but not content with this parade, to which he thought himself entitled as cardinal, he provided another priest of equal stature and beauty, who marched along, bearing the cross of York, even in the diocese of Canterbury ; contrary to the antient rule and agreement between those rival metropolitans. The people indeed made merry with the cardinal's ostentation upon this occasion ; and said they were now sensible, that one cross alone was not sufficient for the expiation of his offences. But Warham, chancellor, and archbishop of Canterbury, having frequently remonstrated against this affront, and finding it to no purpose ; chose rather to retire from public employment, than wage an unequal contest with the haughty cardinal. He resigned his office of chancellor therefore, and the seals were immediately intrusted to Wolsey.

The cardinal, while he was only almoner to the king, had rendered himself extremely unpopular, by his sentences in the star-cham-

ber, a most arbitrary and unconstitutional court, where he presided, and gave every thing as his master would have it, without any respect to the justice of the cause. But now that he was lord high chancellor of England, he made full amends, by discharging that great office with as penetrating a judgment, and as enlarged a knowledge of law and equity, as any of his predecessors or successors: yet, even then, he was not free from the censure of maladministration in other matters; which we shall give the reader the most impartial account of, that we have been able to gather from the several authors who have mentioned it.

Cardinal Campeggio had been sent as legate into England, in order to procure a tythe from the clergy, for enabling the pope to oppose the progress of the Turks, a danger which was real and formidable to all Christendom, but had been so often made use of to serve the interested purposes of the court of Rome, that it had lost all influence on the minds of the people, the clergy refused to comply with Leo's demand; Campeggio was recalled; and the king desired of the pope, that Wolsey, who had been joined in this commission, might alone be invested with the legantine power, together with the right of visiting all the clergy, and monasteries; and even with suspending the whole laws of the church during a twelvemonth.

This additional honour was no sooner obtained, than Wolsey made a greater display

play of pomp and magnificence. On solemn feast-days he was not contented without saying mass after the manner of the pope himself: he had not only bishops and abbots to serve him: but even engaged the first nobility to give him water and a towel; and Warham the primate having wrote him a letter, where he subscribed himself, "Your loving brother," Wolsey complained of his presumption, in challenging such an equality: upon Warham's being told however of the offence he had given, he made light of it, saying, "Know ye not that this man is drunk with too much power." But Wolsey carried the matter much farther than vain pomp and ostentation. He erected an office, which he called the legatine court; in which, if credit may be given to lord Herbert, whose words we make use of, he exercised a most odious and tyrannical jurisdiction. He made the judge of it, one Allen, a man of scandalous life, whom he himself, as chancellor, had condemned for perjury. This wretch committed all sorts of rapine and extortion; for, making an enquiry into the life of every-body, no offence escaped censure and punishment, unless privately bought off; in which people found two advantages; one, that it cost less; the other, that it exempted them from shame. Thus, as the rules of conscience are in many cases of greater extent than those of law, so he found means of searching into their secret corners; besides, under this colour, he arrogated a power to call in question the executors of wills, and the like. He sum-

moned also all religious persons (of what degree soever) before him; who, casting themselves at his feet, were grievously chided, and terrified with expulsion, till they had compounded: besides that all spiritual livings which fell were conferred on his creatures.

No one dared carry to the king any complaint against these usurpations of Wolsey, till Warham ventured to do it; Henry professed his ignorance of the whole matter. “A man
“ (said the monarch) is not so blind any
“ where as in his own house. But do you,
“ father, (added he to the primate) go to Wol-
“ sey, and tell him, if any thing be amiss, that
“ he amend it.” A reproof of this kind was not likely to be much minded, and in effect only served to augment Wolsey’s enmity to Warham, whom he had never loved since the dispute about erecting his crosses; however, one London having prosecuted the legate’s judge in a court of law, and convicted him of malversation and iniquity, the clamour at last reached the king’s ears, who rebuked the cardinal so sharply, that from that he became, if not better, more wary than before.

The cardinal was now building himself a very magnificent palace at Hampton Court, whither he sometimes used to retire, as well to mark the progress of the work, as to procure a short recess from the fatigues of his business; which must needs have been very great, considering that over and above what more immediately related to his archbishoprick, his legantine character, and his place of chancellor,

lor, he had all the affairs of the nation on his hands ; yet the public tranquillity was so well established, and the general administration of justice, through his means, so exact, that ease and plenty blest the land, in a manner unknown for many preceding reigns. This happy disposition at home, led Henry, in the year 1520, to give way to the solicitations of Francis the First, king of France ; and he consented to an interview with that monarch, which was to be between Guiene and Arde ; the kings by mutual consent, committing the regulation of the ceremonial to the cardinal's abilities, which he displayed upon that memorable occasion so as to acquire the applause, and receive the congratulation of most of the states of Europe.

The senate of Venice in particular, addressed him in a letter, in which they felicitated him on the fortunate conduct of an event that required the most consummate prudence ; the pope too gave him very strong testimonies of his approbation, granting him a yearly pension of 2000 ducats, and constituting him perpetual administrator of the bishopric of Badjaos. But it must be acknowledged, that, during the whole course of Wolsey's administration, his friendship was courted by the proudest princes ; nay, even the haughty Spaniard condescended to write him a very respectful epistle, intreating him to favour that crown by the acceptance of 3000 livres per annum ; the grant is dated at Ghent, June 8th,

1517. and the catholic king styles him in it, "our most dear and special friend."

By these extensive subsidies from foreign courts, and the unlimited munificence of his own sovereign, who was continually loading him with spiritual and temporal monopolies, Wolsey's income is reported to have fallen very little short of the revenues of the crown of England. This was a circumstance sufficient to raise the ambition of a man, naturally so aspiring as the cardinal, to any height; upon the death of pope Leo the Tenth, therefore, he aimed at nothing less than the possession of St. Peter's chair; and immediately dispatched a secretary with proper instructions to Rome; at the same time writing to the emperor, and the king of France, to assure them, that if he was elected supreme Pontiff, they should meet with such friendly and equitable treatment as they could expect from no other quarter. The former of these princes indeed, was bound by promise to assist Wolsey in procuring the papacy; which he had repeatedly given him, during a short visit he made to the English court, just before Henry's passage into France; but ere the messenger arrived at Rome, the election was over, and Adrian, bishop of Tortosa, who had been the emperor's tutor, was chosen; though Wolsey, upon different scrutinies, had nine, twelve, and nineteen voices.

He was, probably, chagrined at the behaviour of Charles the Fifth, who had openly violated his word with him; yet smothering his resentment

ment for the present, when the emperor made another visit to England, (partly to appease him, whom he feared to have offended) the cardinal very readily accepted his excuses; and on Adrian's death, which happened about three years after, he applied again for Charles's interest, which was positively engaged to him for the next vacancy : but though this application was backed by a recommendatory letter under Henry the Eighth's own hand; and Wolsey knowing the power of gold in the conclave, had taken care to work sufficiently with that engine ; his hopes of the pontificate were a second time rendered abortive ; chiefly owing to his absence, however, and his reliance on the emperor ; who never intended he should be pope, though, in imitation of other potentates, he made him several handsome allowances ; and at different times treated him with the utmost complaisance and distinction.

Notwithstanding, historians are in many circumstances extremely divided in the accounts they give of cardinal Wolsey, there is one point concerning him in which they all agree, and mention it as the highest eulogium on his character, that during his zenith of glory, whoever was distinguished by any art or science payed court to him, and none paid court in vain. Erasmus, who was by no means an admirer of Wolsey, pays him great compliments on his generous encouragement of learning, and the learned ; and both universities, in several speeches and addresses, publicly ac-

knowledged the inestimable favours which they had received from his bounty. In Oxford particularly, among many other branches of erudition which he planted there, he established the first Greek professorship; but not thinking that a sufficient mark of his esteem, in the year 1525; he determined to build a college, as a lasting monument of his zeal and gratitude towards the seminary in which he had received his education; and having obtained the royal assent to commence his projected foundation, the first stone of that magnificent structure, then called Cardinal, but now Christ's college Oxford, was laid, with a superscription in honour of the founder; the cardinal at the same time building a grammar school at Ipswich, the place of his nativity, to qualify young scholars for admittance to it.

But in the prosecution of these schemes he struck upon a rock, which had like to shatter him to pieces; for having raised his college on the site of a priory, dissolved and given him by the king for that purpose; he also procured authority to suppress several monasteries in different parts of the kingdom, in order to support his new society. Indeed the pope's bulls which were sent over to confirm these grants, had often been a sanction for committing much greater offences; however, his seizing upon the revenues of religious houses, was looked upon as sacrilege; and the king for the first time openly approving the discontent of the people against

against him, several satires were published, reflecting on Wolsey's conduct. It does not appear however that he thought it worth his while to enquire after any of the authors, notwithstanding Skelton, the poet laureat, was so apprehensive on account of some scurrilous verses of his writing, that he took refuge in the sanctuary, to avoid the cardinal's resentment.

But we are now come to a period of Wolsey's life, from whence we are obliged to look back a little, in order to account for the amazing change which latterly appeared in his fortunes. The reader is to know then, that in the year 1522, a young lady was introduced at the English court, the daughter of Sir Thomas Bullen ; who having been formerly in the service of the queen of France, Henry's sister, was received by queen Catherine as one of her maids of honour. It is said, the king no sooner saw her, than he was struck with her beauty ; however, his passion lay concealed for some time, and was first discovered by the following accident. As the cardinal of York's revenues, so his manner of living, in all respects, equalled the state of a sovereign prince. His household consisted of eight hundred persons, many of whom were knights and gentlemen, and even some of the nobility fixed their children in his family, as a place of education, suffering them to bear offices as his domestics. Among these was the earl of Northumberland, whose son,
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the lord Piercy, frequently attending the cardinal to court, had there an opportunity of conversing with the ladies: and he addressed Mrs. Bullen in particular, with so much persuasive eloquence, that in the end he gained her affections, and they were privately affianced to each other. Yet was not their amour conducted so secretly but it came to the king's ears; the violence of his temper immediately broke out; he ordered Wolsey to send for the earl of Northumberland; and the young nobleman being severely rebuked by his father for the indiscretion he had been guilty of, the affair ended in a formal dissolution of the contract; the marriage of lord Piercy to a daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury's; and the dismissal of Anne Bullen from court to her relations in the country. But the impetuosity of the king's passion daily increasing, he could not long bear her out of his sight; she was recalled from her banishment, therefore, the following year: before that event however, a remarkable circumstance happened, which, as it gave rise to the subsequent proceedings in relation to the divorce, and was what opened the way to cardinal Wolsey's ruin, we must not pass over in silence.

In the year 1527, ambassadors came from France in order to conclude several treaties between Henry, and the French king; one of which was, that Francis, or his son the duke of Orleans, should espouse the princess Mary, Henry's eldest daughter; the commissioners
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met several times, and adjusted all points to mutual satisfaction; but in proceeding upon this article, some dispute arose. The bishop of Tarboë, one of the French king's plenipotentiaries said, "he could not help having some doubts about the princess Mary's legitimacy, on account of her being the daughter of queen Catherine, who had formerly been married to prince Arthur:" and in short, he gave broad hints, that the king had committed an unlawful act in marrying his brother's widow: whether this objection was started by previous agreement, in order, (as Burnet supposes) to serve the king's secret purposes, we cannot say: however, it is certain he made a handle of it, to excuse his after proceedings; and from this time openly avowing his affections to Anne Bullen; the courtiers worshipped her as the rising sun, through whose influence alone, the royal favour was to be raised and cultivated.

Wolsey could not be blind to the progress this fair favorite was making in his master's heart; though in all probability he at first thought the king meant no more than to have an intrigue with her, with respect to which, kind of intercourse, it is well known, his eminency entertained not the most evangelical notions; he bowed with the croud therefore, and left nothing untried that might engage the new mistress to his interest; but when he found by some words his majesty let fall, that not being able to obtain the favours he sought

from her, on any other terms than those of wedlock, he was determined at all events to pay down the price she exacted; there was no argument possible to divert the king from his intention, that the cardinal did not use; nay, he often repeated his prayers and intreaties on his knees: but it is likely such an instance of zeal was far from being pleasing to Henry, who could not bear any thing like restraint; and this opposition to her advancement, may also account for the ill will Anne Bullen afterwards bore the cardinal: notwithstanding, upon her second appearance in the royal family, she for some time carried it very fairly towards him; and wrote him several kind and respectful letters, which are yet to be seen under her own hand.

It is not to be wondered at, that the cardinal's secret enemies at court, should lay hold on so favourable an opportunity as this appeared, to undermine a man, they dare not attempt to beat down; for it was dangerous meddling with Henry, where his prepossessions were to be removed: they sought Anne Bullen, therefore, (whose aversion to Wolsey they were not unacquainted with) as the properest engine to work with. And an occasion offering shortly after, to remove the minister at a distance from the king, they took care to improve that advantage as the most necessary measure for promoting the success of their designs. In the year 1527 the wars in Italy had been carried to great extremity, the city
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of Rome was sacked by German soldiers, and Clement the VIIth. was actually in captivity to the emperor ; both Henry and his premier expressed great uneasiness at this disaster, and the cardinal, during his seat at the helm, having distinguished himself in several embassies to foreign princes, his foes in the council proposed, that he should be sent ambassador at the present critical juncture, in order to induce the court of France to mediate for the pope's release, as well as to settle some other matters, more immediately relative to the state of the nation. Whether Wolsey was aware of the plot here laid against him is not certain ; he had undoubtedly an eager desire to serve the Roman pontiff ; and perhaps thought himself too firmly riveted in his master's esteem, to be shaken by the cabals of a faction. Be this as it will, on the 11th of July he left London, with a numerous and splendid retinue ; the furniture of the mule on which he himself rode, being richly embroidered, with bits and stirrups of massy gold. But to give a circumstantial account of this transaction, would afford very little entertainment to the reader, who may find it at large in all our English histories : we shall only say therefore, that the cardinal at this time concluded a most advantageous treaty with France ; that he was entertained on the Continent with a magnificence hardly to be paralleled ; and that having staid on his embassy about two months, he

returned home, where, in spite of the endeavours of his enemies in his absence, he was received by the king with the warmest marks of love and approbation.

There was indeed upon his first arrival, through the instigations of Anne Bullen, who was then with the king at Sir Henry Wyatt's seat in Kent, some disrespect shewn him : for the ambassador coming thither directly, though he was admitted to an audience, and graciously received, yet no entertainment was provided for him in the house ; nor was he at all desired to stay there ; which much surprised his servants, as it was quite contrary to the usual manner of treating him. Ready to catch at every thing to his disadvantage, many imagined this would have been the immediate fore-runner of his fall ; but the storm that overthrew the cardinal, was long a gathering, and often cleared up, before it burst to his utter overthrow. Indeed after this embassy, the king's attachment to him seemed to increase ; for, besides acknowledging the great service the cardinal had done in that affair, in a letter under the royal hand and seal, he was pleased to appoint a public thanksgiving on the occasion, going himself with his queen, and great numbers of the nobility and gentry, to St. Paul's church ; and afterwards in grand procession to dine with the cardinal. It was in consequence of this embassy also, that he bestowed on Wolsey the rich bishopric of Winchester ; and on the sickness of Clement the VIIth, the legate endeavouring a third time for
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the tripple crown, he backed him so strenuously, that there is hardly any doubt to be made of the king's serious inclination to raise him to the popedom, and had not his holiness, unexpectedly, recovered, it is highly probable that the cardinal of York, would at this time have enjoyed the object of his wishes.

In the same year that Wolsey had passed into France, and not many weeks after his leaving that kingdom, the French king sent ambassadors to Henry, in order to ratify the treaties made between the two crowns. On this occasion Wolsey took upon him to regulate the reception given to the foreigners, and certainly, if we may credit the report of a person, who was an eye witness to all that passed during their stay in England, these ambassadors were entertained with a cost and sumptuousness utterly unknown to modern times; banquets, balls, tournaments, distinguished every day: but as we begun the cardinal's life with giving a description of one of his splendid feasts, we shall here, for the same reasons, describe an other, being one of the last efforts of his magnificence and hospitality. It was given to the ambassadors of Francis the First, at Hampton court, and the cardinal having commanded his purveyors to spare no expence or pains, the appointed day being come, the company assembled about noon, from which time, till that of supper, they hunted in one of the king's parks, within three miles of Hampton; then return-

ing about night-fall, every person was conveyed to a several apartment, each being furnished with fire and wine: and no less than two hundred and eighty beds in the whole, where they stayed till they were summoned to the banqueting rooms.

These were all set out in a very splendid manner, being hung with cloth of gold and silver, and having rich lustres depending from the ceilings, with large sconces of silver, guilt with gold, and filled with wax lights, which were fixed against the walls. But the presence chamber exceeded all the rest; here was fixed a sumptuous canopy, under which was the table placed by itself for the cardinal; here were the great bouffets and side-boards loaded with gold and silver plate, which cast such a brightness by the reflexion of the tapers, as was quite astonishing: here also the gentlemen of the cardinal's household richly dressed, waited to serve, and all things thus prepared, the trumpets being sounded, the guests came in to supper, which consisted of such abundance, both of different meats and cookery, as surprised the French ambassadors, who were so charmed with the splendor of what they saw, and the sweetness of the music they heard playing on every side of them, that they seemed wrapt (says Cavendish) in heavenly paradise.

Now all this time the cardinal was absent, but on the appearance of the second course, he suddenly came in among them booted and spurred:.

spurred : all the company attempted to rise : but his eminency desiring they would keep their places, he sat down at his own table in his riding dress, as he was, and grew as merry and agreeable as he ever had been known in his life. This second course (Cavendish observes) must have been the finest thing the Frenchmen ever saw ; but the rarest curiosity in it (adds he) at which they all wondered, and indeed was worthy of wonder, were castles, with images in the same, like St. Paul's church for the model of it, where were beasts, birds, fowls, personages most excellently made, some fighting with swords, some with guns, others, with cross-bows, some dancing with ladies, some on horseback with compleat armour, juggling with long and sharp spears, and many other strange devices, which I cannot describe. Amongst all I noted, there was a chess board, made of spice-plate, with men of the same, and of good proportion. And, because the Frenchmen are very expert at that sport, my lord cardinal gave that same to a French gentleman, commanding that there should be made a good case to convey the same into his country.

Then the cardinal called for a great gold cup filled with wine ; and pulling off his cap, said, " I drink a health to the king my sovereign, and next unto the king your master." And when he had taken a hearty draught, he desired the principal ambassador to pledge him. And so all the lords pledged the health in order,

der. Thus was the night spent in great harmony and good humour, till many of the company were obliged to be led to their beds ; and the next day having stayed to dine with the cardinal, the ambassadors departed towards Windsor, where they were treated, before their going into their own country, in a manner still more magnificent, by the king.

But there is nothing more plainly shews the good terms on which Wolsey was with his master, after his last return out of France, than the frequent visits Henry paid him at his palace at Hampton-court ; which, in the year 1528, was completely finished, and elegantly furnished. His majesty was greatly taken both with the situation, and beauty of the edifice : upon this Wolsey very generously made him a present of it ; and the king, highly pleased with the gift, gave him in return his royal palace at Richmond. However, the cardinal, for the little time he remained in power after this, chose Escher-place, one of the houses belonging to the see of Winchester, for his country-residence, which he caused to be repaired and beautified.

Thus we have conducted Wolsey from his birth, to the utmost summit of his fortune ; we must now follow him again down the hill, in which, as it generally happens, his progress was much more rapid than in going up, even expeditious as his ascent was.

“ Queen Catharine’s years (says the author of the church history) added to her temper,
“ which

“ which was naturally grave, was now be-
 “ come more distasteful than ever to king
 “ Henry; his passion for Anne Bullen too,
 “ who, finding the love he had for her, ma-
 “ naged her attractions with the utmost art of
 “ coquetry, was greatly augmented; so that
 “ fluctuating between the thoughts of a mistress
 “ and a wife, Henry was so intangled, that,
 “ rather than be disappointed of the one, he
 “ resolved to rid himself of the other.” Cardinal
 Wolsey saw it was in vain to put this no-
 tion out of his head; not caring therefore to
 engage too far in so weighty a business alone,
 he, with the king’s permission, by his own le-
 gatine authority, issued writs to summon all
 the bishops, with the most learned men of both
 universities, to consult on his majesty’s case;
 but these counsellors thinking the point too
 nice for them to determine, in the end the
 pope was applied to, who, in compliance with
 the king’s request, sent cardinal Campeggio
 into England, that he might, in conjunction
 with Wolsey, sit in judgment, and decide
 whether Henry’s marriage with Catharine was
 lawful, or not. But first, the king called an
 assembly of all the great men in the kingdom,
 both spiritual and temporal, besides others of
 inferior degree, and made them a speech, in
 which he endeavoured to account for and ex-
 cuse the proceedings he was going upon, lay-
 ing the great stress upon conscience, and the
 dreadful horrors of mind he had suffered ever
 since the French ambassadors had questioned
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the lady Mary's legitimacy, which made him fear that a marriage with his brother's relict was by divine law prohibited : however, he said, he submitted every thing to the wisdom of the pope's legates, then arrived in London, who were authorized by his holiness to determine this important cause ; and the measures he was already determined to take being thus artfully prepared, the legatine court was opened on the 21st of June following.

But the circumstances of this famous trial are well known. The queen being a woman of a resolute mind, protested against the legates, as incompetent judges ; she appealed to the king for her conjugal fidelity ; went out of court, and would never return to it more. The legates went on according to the forms of law, though the queen appealed from them to the pope, and excepted both to the place, to the judges, and her lawyers. The king would not suffer the cause to be removed to Rome, and Campeggio left England. But these accidents fell in a regular series ; and many attempts were made to bring the queen to an easy compliance with his majesty's pleasure, though in vain : from hence it followed, that the public was divided ; some pitied Henry, but more had compassion for Catharine : and as Wolsey had now brought himself by his pride into universal odium with the people, while the abettors of the divorce, charged all the difficulties laid in its way to his artifice ; the partizans on the other side were as unanimous in condemning him.

him, for prompting his master to so iniquitous a piece of violence: but of this last charge the cardinal fully cleared himself, by calling on king Henry, in open court, to witness to his innocence; when the king declared, he had always advised him against it, which indeed he might do with a safe conscience; and for that reason he was jealous of Wolsey's being a secret mover in the protraction of the cause; for which he consigned him to destruction: Fisher and Ridley, two eminent bishops, being brought to the block principally on the same account.

Indeed it was apparent, on the breaking up of the court, that Wolsey had nothing to expect but the fate he met with; for the duke of Suffolk, by the king's direction, coming towards the bench where Wolsey and Campeggio sat, he cried, with a haughty tone and a furious countenance, "It was never thus in England till we had cardinals among us." To which the cardinal of York soberly replied; "Sir, of all men in this realm you have the least cause to dispraise cardinals; for if I, poor cardinal, had not been, you should not at this present have had a head upon your shoulders." We must observe in this place, that what greatly tended to render Wolsey so hateful to the nobility, was the part he had acted in the year 1521, in regard to the duke of Buckingham, the first nobleman for family and fortune in the kingdom; who having been so unhappy as to drop some expressions reflecting on the minister's conduct,

conduct, was never left till he had paid for his indiscretion at the expence of his life, being executed on Tower-hill on the 17th of May, for a crime trumped up against him purely to satisfy the malice of his haughty and revengeful enemy.

But, to return to the king; on the avocation of his cause to Rome, he was not only enraged, but afflicted: and Hall, Stow, Rapin, and Burnet, affirm, that he resolved on a progress into the country, thereby to dispel his melancholy: for that end he set out, attended by his royal retinue; and coming to Grafton in Northamptonshire, he was there attended by Wolsey and Campeggio, the latter of which came to take his leave before he returned into Italy. This was on a Sunday; and there were many wagers laid among the courtiers, that the king would not speak to the cardinal of York. But here his foes were disappointed: the king not only spoke to him, but received him with a smiling countenance; and having talked to him some time aside at the window, he said, "Go to your dinner, and take my lord cardinal to keep you company, and after dinner I will talk with you farther." With which words Henry retired to dine with Anne Bullen, who was with him in his progress, and the cardinals sat down at a table prepared in the presence-chamber for them, and other lords. There is something curious in the account which Cavendish gives

us, from one of the persons, who waited at table, of the king and his mistress's discourse at dinner; it referred to Wolsey; and Anne Bullen being as angry as she durst at the king's gracious behaviour to him, she said, "Sir, Is it not a marvellous thing, to see into what great debt and danger he hath brought you with all your subjects?" How so, replied the king. Forsooth, said she, there is not a man in all your whole realm of England to whom he hath not indebted you. Which words she spoke, because the king had formerly, through the cardinal's advice, raised money on the people by way of loan, which had been a very unpopular measure; but the king exculpated his minister, by saying, "Well, well, for that matter there was no blame in him; for I know it better than you, or any else." Nay, but (cried the lady) besides that, what exploits hath he wrought in several parts of this realm? There is never a nobleman, but, if he had done as much as he hath done, were well worthy to lose his head. Nay, if my lord of Norfolk, my lord of Suffolk, or my father, had done much less, they should have lost their heads ere this. "Then I perceive (said the king) you are none of my lord cardinal's friends." Why, Sir, (answered she) I have no cause, nor any that love you; no more hath your grace, if you did well consider his indirect and unlawful doings. During this conversation in the king's chamber, the cardinal was not treated with much less asperity by the

duke of Norfolk without; so that every hand appeared ready to pull down a falling favourite, though the king consulted with him four hours that same evening, which vexed many; but, at night, when the cardinal's servants came to prepare a lodging for him, they were told there was no room: so that his eminency was obliged to lie at the house of one Mr. Empson, at some distance in the country; and in the morning, when he came to court (tho' he had his majesty's command to attend him over night) he found the king just ready to mount his horse, who, without taking any farther notice, coldly ordered him to consult with the lords of the council. This was contrived by Anne Bullen, who rode out with the king; and in order to prevent his majesty's return before the cardinal went away, she took care to provide an entertainment for him in Hanwell-park.

The king had no sooner left Wolsey in this abrupt manner, than the cardinal saw there was an end of all; but he was too wise to expose himself to the raillery of the courtiers, by appearing humbled or terrified at his approaching disgrace. Immediately after dinner he set out with his colleague for London, from whence, in a few days, Campeggio took his journey to Rome. But a report prevailing, that in his baggage he had concealed, and was carrying off a considerable treasure belonging to the cardinal of York, the customhouse officers,

officers, by the king's order, stopt him at Dover, and made so thorough a search, that the legate complained of the insult offered his character, though to no other purpose than to receive a rebuke from the king, for daring to assume any character in his dominions, without his particular licence ; so that the Italian prelate was glad to get off unmolested at any rate : as for poor Wolsey, though he had the king's commission for acting as legate in England, that was afterwards brought against him, among a number of other crimes, very little better founded ; and such was the king's eagerness to begin with him, that he had scarce patience to wait till Campeggio set sail.

It was now term-time, and Wolsey, the first day, went to the court of chancery, in his usual state, but after that, never sat there more. On the 18th of October 1529, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk came to his house at Westminster, and in the king's name demanded the great seal ; at the same time, letting him know, that he should immediately depart to his seat at Esher. This was the first stroke levelled at him, but the cardinal was aware, and strove to parry it : he told their lordships, that he held the place of chancellor by patent for life ; and that as he had received the seal from his majesty's own hands, into those alone he would deliver it. The noble messengers were extremely offended at this refusal, but the chancellor was positive : however, the dukes coming again the next day,

with a peremptory command to the cardinal, to obey his majesty without the least demur, he at last consented ; though not without some tart reflections on their graces conduct, who, with good grounds, were suspected to have a great hand in his ruin.

The fatal business being thus commenced, the cardinal proceeded with great coolness and submission : he called all his officers before him, and had an immediate inventory taken of every thing he was worth, and the several moveables being brought out and set in a great gallery, and the chamber adjoining, he left them all for the king. Indeed his treasury more resembled that of an Eastern monarch, than a European subject ; for, in the first place, there were set in the gallery several tables, on which were piled an infinite variety of rich stuffs, with cloths and silks of all colours and manufactures ; there were a thousand pieces of holland ; and all the hangings of his great rooms, were gold and silver arras ; with the most magnificent robes and coats, that he had bought for the use of his two colleges at Oxford and Ipswich : but these were trifles to what was to be seen in his chambers : there were set very large tables, wholly covered with plate, a great part of which was solid gold, all the rest of his goods and furniture bearing an equal proportion ; so that it is not improbable that his known opulence was no small inducement to the persecution against him. All things thus settled, he prepared to withdraw

to Esher; but just as he was going, Sir William Gascoigne, his treasurer, came up, and told him, it was rumoured abroad, that he was to go directly to the Tower; to which the cardinal replied, with some dissatisfaction at Sir William's credulity, and unkindness, in telling him every light story, adding "that he
 " had done nothing to deserve imprisonment,
 " but, having received all he possessed of the
 " king, it was but reasonable he should re-
 " turn it to him again."

He then took boat, having with him most of his servants, with some furniture and provisions, and directed his course towards Putney; but see how every thing changes with fortune. Upon this occasion the Thames was crouded with spectators on both sides, and a vast number of boats appeared on the river, in hopes of seeing the cardinal carried to the Tower; and it is almost incredible what joy the common people expressed, who in prosperity followed him with applause and blessings. Being landed at Putney, he immediately mounted his mule, his servants and attendants being on horseback; but he was scarce got to the foot of the hill, on the other side of the town, when he was overtaken by Sir John Norris, one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, who dismounted his horse, and saluting his eminence in his majesty's name, told him "he was sent ex-
 " press to assure him, that he was as much in
 " the king's favour as ever: that this disgrace
 " was only to serve a turn, and please some

“fort of people ; bidding him be of good
“courage, for, as his majesty was able, so he
“was willing, to make up all his losses.”
The cardinal being surprized at this joyful
news, directly got off his mule, and falling
upon his knees in the dirty highway, he be-
trayed an extravagance of transport at the ap-
pearance of returning to favour, quite unbe-
coming a man ; he pulled off his hat, praised
the king’s goodness, and embraced Sir John
Norris over and over ; after which, being again
mounted, and riding towards Esher, as they
conversed on the way, Norris pulled out a
gold ring set with a very rich stone, which he
presented to the cardinal in the king’s name,
in token of his recovered friendship ; and Wol-
sey, in return, taking a gold cross from about
his neck, in which a piece of the Holy Cross,
(as it was said) was inclosed, bestowed it on
Sir John, as a perpetual remembrance of his
service. Then, bethinking himself of what
would be acceptable to the king, he sent him
his fool, Patch, whom six of his tallest Yeo-
men were scarce able to conduct, so great a
reluctance he had to part with his old master ;
but with this present the king appeared very
much pleased.

But after all these great promises from the
king, it appears that nothing was meant by
them, for the cardinal no sooner reached his
retreat, than he was intirely neglected, being
suffered to continue there three weeks without
either beds, tablecloths, or dishes to eat his
meat

meat upon ; neither had he money to buy any ; so that he must infallibly have perished, had it not been for the supplies the country people sent to him. In these sad circumstances his secretary one day told him, that he ought in conscience to consider him and his other servants, who had never forsook him, in weal or woe, “ alas Tom” said the cardinal, “ you know I have nothing to give you nor them ; “ which makes me both ashamed and sorry.” After which, by his secretary’s advice, borrowing some money of his chaplains, many of whom he had preferred to great benefices, he had all his servants called up before him, and beholding them for some time with great tenderness, whilst his silence, and the tears that ran down his cheeks, testified his inward affliction ; at length, perceiving his servants also weep very plentifully, he made them a most moving speech ; in which he lamented that he had not done so much for them, in his prosperity, as he might have done ; tho’ he excused himself by the great promptness that there might be in people, to say, there was no office would escape the rapacity of the cardinal : he then deplored his present situation, which had left him nothing but the bare cloaths upon his back, so that he was without any means of acknowledging their services : however, he thanked them all heartily, and giving them their wages, and his blessing, told them they had better provide for themselves. After this most of his servants left him, except Caven-
dish, who stayed about his person, and Crom-
well,

well, who went to London, to take care of his affairs there.

It was now the cardinal began to find out, in spite of specious pretences, how little, in reality, the king was his friend; for, from the vigorous proceedings commenced against him at law, it was apparent that his majesty resolved to have him at his mercy, upon the statute of premunire; though it appeared to every one, that, to let that law loose upon him, would be the greatest injustice, in as much as he was authorized by the king to execute his legatine commission: yet, at the importunity of several lords of the council, he declined pleading to the information exhibited against him, and threw himself intirely on the king's mercy, who he said "had a conscience to judge and understand how far he merited punishment for the matter alledged against him;" then judgment was signed. However, he received assurances from Henry, that he would not proceed to the utmost rigour of the law, and soon after he had part of his goods given to him, and obtained a protection from the king; but still diligent enquiry was making after all his estate and effects, and whenever any was found, they were immediately confiscated to his majesty's use.

It seems to us a hard matter to reconcile the different parts of Henry's behaviour in discarding his minister; he found he was no longer his creature, perhaps, and therefore he ceased to be his favourite: and yet he seems

to have been ashamed of the part he was acting against a man whom he once so highly favoured, by letting him down with a seeming reluctance, and qualifying every step he fell with some act of pretended tenderness and compassion. Thus, in the parliament which was called on the third of November, after Wolsey's disgrace, when the lords exhibited four and forty articles of impeachment against him, and the bill (through the management of the cardinal's secretary) was rejected in the lower house, the king expressed great satisfaction at it; and indeed all the articles were built on so weak, and many of them upon so unjust, a foundation, that my lord Herbert might well say, no minister was ever displaced with less to alledge against him. In some of these articles it was made a capital offence to have done several things which he did by the king's express command, and under his licence; while others carried an air of ridiculousness and absurdity: and even those which bore the best face, contained, at the utmost, but trifles, and errors rather than crimes. But though this ill-supported charge fell to the ground; nay, though the king, in one of his relenting fits, granted him the most ample pardon for all crimes which he might be supposed to have committed against the crown, that ever king granted a subject; the cardinal's ill fortune still continued to pursue him with accumulated rigor; nor would his hard-hearted master be
 satisfied,

fatisfied, while he had any thing left, that it was possible to wring from him.

The king demanded a surrender of York-house : it was in vain for Wolsey to alledge, that it was the archbishop's palace, and he had no right to give away the property of his successor : Henry insisted upon his signing a resignation, and he was obliged to do it. He also forced him to make over by deed of gift the revenues of the bishoprick of Winchester, and, after all, would not so much as pay his debts, nor allow him sufficient to subsist upon ; so that, with one vexation or other, Wolsey was at length quite harrassed out, and he fell dangerously ill of a violent fever. But see the inconsistency of the king's behaviour ! the cardinal's indisposition was no sooner mentioned at court, than he expressed the greatest concern and uneasiness ; he declared he would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds ; ordered one of his own physicians to attend him ; and being told, that nothing was so likely to promote a recovery, as some mark of favour from the royal hand, he not only sent him a ring with his own picture in it, from himself ; but made Ann Bullen take the gold etwee from her side, and, with many obliging expressions, entreat the cardinal's acceptance of it, as a token of her esteem and affection. Yet Wolsey was no sooner up again, than the prospect grew as gloomy as ever : the king dissolved both his colleges, though in the humblest and most earnest manner he besought him

to spare them : and the cardinal having, in his prosperity, at a great expence, built himself a tomb, which was not finished at the time of his fall, his majesty seized that too ; nor would he be prevailed on to restore it, though his old favourite begged it of him in the moving term of a burying place, which, “ on account of his great heaviness, he said, he was soon likely to want.” However the king was not so inflexible to all his requests ; for the cardinal representing about this time, that the air of Elsher was very prejudicial to his constitution, he was immediately permitted to remove to Richmond, and a sum of money was issued from the Treasury to make his circumstances a little more easy.

But alas ! the unfortunate Wolsey's evil star had not yet shed half its malignity. His removal to Richmond made his enemies very uneasy ; they disliked such a proximity to the court, and were in continual fear, lest Henry should relapse into his former attachment, and one time or other, call his discarded minister again into favour. In these thoughts they determined to move him to a greater distance, and considering his province in the north as the properest place for his future residence, they found no great difficulty in procuring an order from Henry, for his immediately repairing thither. The poor cardinal would fain have retired no further than Winchester, but no place but Yorkshire would do ; and on his being a little tardy to set out, on account of money

money which he waited for, and because there was no exact time fixed for his journey, the duke of Norfolk one day meeting his secretary Cromwell, said to him, "Go, tell thy master, "that unless he quickly removes towards the "north, I will tear him to pieces with my "teeth"; which being repeated to the cardinal, "Then," cried he, "it is time for me to "be going," and accordingly he left Richmond in a few days after, taking the road for his archiepiscopal seat at Cawood.

No sooner was he arrived and settled in this place, than he gave himself up entirely to devotion and his pastoral charge, daily distributing to the poor, and keeping an hospitable table for all comers. His custom was, to visit all the little parish churches round about, in which one of his chaplains generally preached; and sometimes he condescended to dine at an honest farmer's house, where he was constantly surrounded with a great number of indigent people, whom he conversed with, and relieved. Finding his palace also very much out of repair, he at one time engaged above three hundred workmen and labourers in fitting it up: but such was the malignity of his enemies at court, that they interpreted this to his disadvantage, Cromwell writing to him in one of his letters from London, "Some there be that "do alledge your grace keeps too great a house "and family, and that you are continually "building: for the love of God, therefore, "have respect, and refrain."

In consequence of this admonition, the cardinal began to contract his manner of living : but his enemies, who were resolved on his destruction, soon found something else to lay hold of, in the great preparations which, contrary to his warmest entreaties, and, in some measure, without his knowledge, the dean and chapter of his cathedral church were making for his solemn installation ; insomuch, that for a week before the day fixed for that ceremony, people from all parts of the kingdom crowded, out of curiosity, to the city of York.

Cavendish tells us a story upon this occasion, which we hope we shall be pardoned for relating. On All Saints day, the cardinal being at dinner with his chaplains, doctor Augustine, a physician, clothed with a very heavy velvet gown, in rising up, pushed against the cardinal's silver cross, placed at the corner of the table, which fell so heavy upon the head of doctor Bonner, that the blood came trickling down. Upon this, the cardinal immediately retired to his chamber, and shaking his head, said, " *Malum omen*," a bad sign ; which he afterwards interpreted to Cavendish upon his death-bed, telling him, that the cross represented his person ; doctor Augustine, who threw it down, his enemy, and an informer ; and the chaplain being wounded, imported, that his power was at an end, and death would quickly ensue. This, no doubt, will be called superstition ; however, it is certain, that his enemies had preferred against him a new accusa-

tion of high treason ; and, on the very day this accident happened, sir Walter Walch, one of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, set out from court, to attend lord Piercy, (then earl of Northumberland by his father's death) who, through an old grudge, very readily accepted a commission to assist in arresting the cardinal ; this matter being conducted so secretly, that Cromwell, who was in London, had not the least suspicion of it ; nor was the affair known in the country, till on the Friday which preceded the designed installation, when sir Walter Walch, with the noble earl above-mentioned, arrived at Cawood, attended by several horsemen, and others, whom they had commanded in the king's name to follow them.

Alighting at the cardinal's gate, they went immediately into the hall, and demanded the keys from the porter : but the man was astonished at this request, and refused to deliver them without his master's order. To prevent any further disturbance, therefore, they contented themselves with taking an oath from him, " That no person should go out or come in, " till he received further orders ;" the cardinal all this while remaining ignorant of what passed below, care being taken that no one should go up to inform him : however, at last, one of the servants found means to slip by, and told his eminency that the earl of Northumberland was in the hall. Wolfey being then at dinner, took this for a friendly visit from his old pupil, and immediately rose from

from table ; but meeting the earl on the top of the stairs, after a mutual embrace, Northumberland said, trembling, “ I arrest you of “ high treason.” Upon this the cardinal demanded to see his authority ; but the earl refusing to shew his commission, Wolsey, with great presence of mind, replied, “ I will not “ then submit to your arrest ” : however, sir Walter Walch coming up during the debate, whom the cardinal knew, and repeating what the earl had before said, he very readily surrendered himself.

Being now in custody, Saturday was spent in packing up some of his effects, and preparing for his journey ; but, as soon as the country people were informed of what the earl and Walch had been doing, the palace was surrounded by a great number of persons, who made the air ring with repeated cries, “ May “ the foul evil overtake them, who are taking “ him from us ! ” And there they continued waiting, in order to see the cardinal carried away, that they might take their mournful farewell of him ; which gave Northumberland and the knight no little uneasiness.

On Sunday, the first of November, early in the morning, he proceeded on his journey towards London. As soon as he came out of his gate, the people with great lamentation expressed their concern, and followed him for several miles, till the cardinal desired them to depart, and be patient ; for that he feared not his enemies, but entirely submitted to the will

of heaven. The first night he lodged at Pomfret abbey ; the next night, with the Black Friars at Doncaster ; and the night following, at Sheffield park, where he remained eighteen days. Here he was kindly entertained by the earl of Shrewsbury, and had great respect shewed him by the neighbouring gentlemen, who flocked in to visit him : but being one day at dinner, he was taken very ill with a sudden coldness at his stomach, which he apprehending to be an oppression occasioned by wind, he immediately sent to an apothecary for some medicine to expel it, and this gave him ease for the present ; but if he was not then poisoned, as some people imagined, either by himself or others, it appears that this disorder, from whatever root it sprung, was the cause of his death, he being in so languishing a condition when Mr. Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, came to the earl of Shrewsbury's, to take him into custody, and attend him to London, that he was hardly able to walk across the chamber. This circumstance too of being put into the hands of the lieutenant of the Tower, gave a great shock to his weakened frame ; for when the earl of Shrewsbury ordered Cavendish to tell him of Kingston's arrival, in the tenderest manner, that he might take it quietly, and without apprehension, the cardinal clapped his hand on his thigh, and gave a great sigh, saying, " I now see 'what is preparing for me."

After

After this, Kingston was introduced, who immediately fell on his knees to the cardinal, and saluted him in the king's behalf. But Wolsey, as well as his feeble state would let him, took off his hat, and stooped to raise him up, saying, "Master Kingston, I pray you
 "stand up, and leave your kneeling to me,
 "for I am a wretch replete with misery, esteeming myself but a mere object, utterly
 "cast away, though without desert, God he
 "knoweth; therefore, good master Kingston,
 "stand up." Then the lieutenant assured him that his majesty had still an entire affection for him; but he could not help bringing him to his tryal, such was the importunity of his enemies; though the king did not in the least question but he was able to clear himself, and would come off with honour; that his orders were to permit him to set out for London when he thought proper, and to take what time he pleased upon his journey. To this the cardinal replied, "I have a distemper which will
 "not permit me to make very much haste;
 "however, I will endeavour to be ready for
 "the journey to-morrow morning." But having at that time a lax, it increased so violently in the night, that he went to stool near fifty times, which obliged him to remain there the next day. However, though still very sick, he left the earl of Shrewsbury's the following morning, and, by gentle progress, reached another seat of his lordship's that night.

It had been the opinion of the physicians, before he quitted Sheffield park, that he had not above four or five days to live ; but Kingston seems to have thought, that his malady was not so grievous as it was represented. It must be owned, that the cardinal behaved in this last stage with great patience and resignation : though scarce able to sit his mule, he rode along without complaining ; and being attended by a guard who had formerly been his own servants, and now beheld their master with an eye of sorrow and compassion, all the way as he went, he kept talking, sometimes with one, and sometimes with another, taking them by the hand, and using much kindness. Thus he continued three days, making short journeys, by slow progress, till on the third at night he arrived at Leicester Abbey. Here the abbot and the whole convent came out to meet him, receiving him in the court with great reverence and respect ; but the cardinal only said, “ Father abbot, I
“ am come to lay my bones among you ” ; and riding still on his mule, till he came to the stairs of his chamber, he with much difficulty was helped up, and put to bed.

This was on Saturday, the 25th of November, and on the Monday following his illness was so far increased, that he could not live long. On Tuesday morning early, Mr. Kingston went into his room, and asked him how he rested : the cardinal devoutly answered, “ I only wait the pleasure of heaven to render
“ my

“ my poor soul into the hands of my creator.”
 The cardinal after this, being about the space
 of an hour at confession, Kingston came to him
 a second time, and then Wolsey finding his disso-
 lution very nigh, “ I pray you (said he) have me
 “ heartily recommended to his royal majesty, and
 “ beseech him on my behalf to call to his re-
 “ membrance all matters that have passed be-
 “ tween us from the beginning, especially with
 “ regard to his business with the queen; and
 “ then will he know in his conscience, whe-
 “ ther I have offended him. He is a prince
 “ of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely
 “ heart; and, rather than he will miss, or
 “ want any part of his will, he will endanger
 “ the one half of his kingdom. I do assure
 “ you, that I have often kneeled before him,
 “ sometimes three hours together, to persuade
 “ him from his will and appetite, but could
 “ not prevail. Had I but served God as dili-
 “ gently as I have served the king, he would
 “ not have given me over in my grey hairs :
 “ but this is the just reward that I must receive
 “ for my indulgent pains and study, not re-
 “ garding my service to God, but only to my
 “ prince. Therefore, let me advise you, if you
 “ be one of the privy council, as by your wis-
 “ dom you are fit, take care what you put into
 “ the king’s head ; for you can never put it
 “ out again.” Adding, after a very severe
 warning against the lutherans, “ Mr. King-
 “ ston, farewell ; I wish all things may have
 “ good success ; my time draweth on fast.”

Having

Having uttered these words, his speech failed him, and he died about eight o'clock, the guards being called in to see him expire ; and thus finished his days this great prelate and statesman, Nov. 22, 1630, being sixty years of age, wanting four months. After his death he was laid in an oaken coffin, with his face uncovered, that every one might be permitted to view him ; and early in the morning on St. Andrew's day, he was buried in the middle of one of the abbey chapels.

As to his person, he was strongly made, tall, big-boned, and of a majestic presence ; his face was rather comely, but physiognomists pretended to say, it was stamped with the legible indications of pride. His character has been maliciously attacked by some, and as weakly defended by others ; yet undoubtedly the known violence of Henry the Eighth's temper may alleviate much of the blame which some of his favourite's measures have undergone : and when we consider, that the subsequent part of that monarch's reign was much more unfortunate and criminal, than that which was directed by the cardinal's councils, we shall be inclined to suspect those historians of partiality, who have endeavoured to load his memory with such virulent reproaches.

K. B.

THE



S.^R THOMAS MORE

T. Ki



THE LIFE OF
SIR THOMAS MORE.

THOSE authors, who are fond of recording wonders, tell us, that the birth of this great man was preceded by several strange dreams, which his mother had during her pregnancy, portending his future fortune; but without paying any regard to the legends of superstition, it may be affirmed, that his childhood afforded the most lively hopes of what his maturer years accomplished. Of this we have a testimony in the behaviour of cardinal Moreton, archbishop of Canterbury, and lord chancellor of England: for young Thomas More being, according to the custom of those times, put into his family for education, his grace would often say to the nobility who dined with him; "This boy, who waits
" at the table, whosoever lives to see it, will
" prove a surprizing man." But not to dwell too long upon trifles; according to the best accounts, the object of our present enquiry was born Anno Domini 1480, in Milk-street in London, his father, Sir John More, being then a gentleman of established reputation in the law, in which profession he afterwards brought up his son; and it appears that Mr. More, on his first entrance on business, cut a very extraordinary figure at the bar, though taking an early distaste to that way of life, he
suddenly

suddenly retired to the Charter-house; where, giving himself up entirely to devotion, he remained secluded from the world no less than four years; and it was probably in this place he contracted that superstitious attachment to the popish religion, and burning zeal against hereticks, which was afterwards the only disfigurement of his character.

But Sir Thomas More was at length tired of being shut up from the commerce of mankind, and all science; he therefore listened to the intreaties of a friend of his, Mr. Colt of Newhall in Essex, and, about the year 1500, went to live at his house. This gentleman had three daughters, and, in the course of his visit, Mr. More took a liking to the second; but it is remarkable, that on being urged by the father to make choice of one of them for a wife, he espoused the eldest, merely for being such, that it might be no vexation or disgrace to her to be passed by. Upon his marriage with this lady, who lived with him about seven years, he took a house in Bucklersbury, and began once again to practice the law. But what greatly contributed to raise his reputation was this: More was not now full two-and-twenty years of age, yet being elected a burges at a very critical juncture, when Henry VII. called a parliament to demand a subsidy, and nine fifteenths, for the marriage of his eldest daughter, he had an immediate opportunity of displaying his talents in the house: for the majority were against this demand, though many of the members, being afraid of the king's

king's displeasure, made no opposition : upon which our young lawyer got up, and argued with such strength and clearness against so arbitrary an imposition, that his majesty's demand was, in the end, rejected. Mr. Tyler, one of the privy council, who was present when the speech was made, went immediately to the king, and told him, that a beardless boy had disappointed all his purpose. A prince, tyrannical and avaricious like Henry, could not fail to be much incensed ; and we are not to wonder that he should be determined to be revenged on the person who had presumed to oppose the favourite measure of his reign (that of getting money ;) however, as our patriot had nothing, he could lose nothing : the king was obliged to pretend a quarrel therefore, without any cause, against Sir John More, his father, whom he ordered to be imprisoned in the Tower, till he had paid a fine of an hundred pounds. Nor did Mr. More come off so clearly, but he was obliged to forego his practice, and live in private, till the death of Henry VII. relieved him from the danger his resentment threatened.

This retirement, however, was of no real disadvantage to him, as he employed his time in improving himself in history, mathematics, and the belie lettres ; so that when he immersed again from obscurity, he shone with double lustre ; and, with a place which was given him in the city, and his practice, he gained, without any scruple of conscience,

above

above four hundred pounds a year, which for that time was prodigious. Indeed his reputation as a pleader was become so extremely high, that before his employment by the government, he was twice appointed ambassador, by the consent of Henry VIII. on some causes of consequence, between the English merchants, and those of the Steel-yard, and then cardinal Wolsey was very solicitous, by the king's order, to engage More in his majesty's service : but he was so averse to change the condition of an independent man, for that of a courtier, that the minister could not prevail, and the king, for the present, was pleased to admit of his excuses. It happened, however, some time after, that a great ship of the pope's arriving at Southampton, the king claimed it as a forfeiture, upon which the legate demanded a tryal, with council for his holiness, learned in the laws of the kingdom ; and, as his majesty was himself a great civilian, he also desired it might be heard in some public place in the royal presence. Henry acceded to all this, and Mr More was chosen council on the side of the pope, whose cause he pleaded with so much learning and success, that the forfeiture which the crown claimed, was immediately restored, and the conduct of the lawyer, universally admired and applauded. Indeed it brought so great an addition to his fame, that the king would no longer be induced by any intreaty, to dispense with his service, and having no better place at that

time

time vacant, he made him master of the requests, in a month after knighted him; appointed him one of his privy council, and admitted him into the greatest familiarity with himself.

It was a custom with his majesty, says the author of the British Antiquities, after he had performed his devotions upon holidays, to send for Sir Thomas More into his closet, and there confer with him about astronomy, geometry, divinity, and other parts of learning, as well as affairs of state. Upon other occasions the king would carry him in the night upon his leads, at the top of the house, to be instructed in the variety, course, and motions of the heavenly bodies. But this was not the only use the king made of his new servant. He soon found, that he was a man of a chearful disposition, and had a great fund of wit and humour: and therefore his majesty, when the council had supped, and sometimes when they were at supper, would order him to be sent for, to make him and the queen merry. When Sir Thomas perceived that they were so much entertained with his conversation, that he could not once in a month get leave to spend an evening with his wife and children, whom he loved, nor be absent from court two days together, without being sent for by the king, he grew very uneasy at this restraint of his liberty; and so beginning, by little and little, to disuse himself from his former mirth, and somewhat to dissemble his natural temper, he

was not so ordinarily called for upon these occasions of merriment. The treasurer of the exchequer dying about this time, in the year 1520, the king, of his own motion, without any sollicitation, conferred this office on Sir Thomas More; and within three years after, a parliament being summoned, in order to raise money for a war with France, he was elected speaker of the house of commons.

It was in this parliament that cardinal Wolsey was much offended with the members of the house of commons, because nothing was said or done there, but immediately it was blown abroad, He said, in every alehouse: on the other hand, the members had an undoubted right, as they thought, to repeat to their friends without doors what had passed within. It happened, however, that a considerable subsidy having been demanded by the king, which Wolsey apprehended would meet with great opposition in the lower house, he was determined to be present when the motion should be made, in order to prevent its being rejected. The house being apprized of his resolution, it was a great while under debate, Whether it was best to receive him with a few of his lords only, or with his whole train. The major part of the house inclined to the first: upon which the speaker got up, and said, "Gentlemen, forasmuch as my lord cardinal hath, not long since, laid to our charge, the lightness of our tongues, it shall not, in my judgment, be amiss to receive him with all his people; that so, if he blame us hereafter

hereafter for things spoken out of the house, we may lay it upon those that his grace shall bring with him." The humour of the speaker's motion being approved, the cardinal was received accordingly. But having shewn, in a solemn speech, how necessary it was for the king's affairs, that the subsidies moved for should be granted, and finding that no member made any answer, nor shewed the least inclination to comply with what he asked, he quite lost his temper; and with great indignation said, "Gentlemen, unless it be the manner of your house, to express your minds in such cases by your speaker, here is, without doubt, a surprizing obstinate silence." He then required the speaker to give him an answer to the demand which he had made in the king's name. Upon which Sir Thomas having, with great reverence, fallen on his knees, excused their silence, as being abashed at the presence of so exalted a personage. He then proceeded to shew, that it was not agreeable to the antient liberty of the house, to make an answer to his majesty's messages by any other person, how great soever, than some of their own members; and in the conclusion, he told his eminence, That though, as speaker, he was the voice of the commons; yet except every one of them could put their several judgments in his head, he alone, in so weighty a matter, was not able to make a sufficient answer." The cardinal taking offence at the speaker for this evasive reply, suddenly rose up and departed:

perhaps his displeasure was greater, because he knew that Sir Thomas More had seconded the motion when it was first made: but though that spirited patriot thought the subsidy absolutely necessary for carrying on the war, he had a mind to distinguish between the reasonable demands of the king, and insolence of his minister; and therefore played off this farce against him.

In consequence of this, however, being a few days after in Wolsey's gallery at Whitehall, his eminence complained vehemently of the ill treatment he gave him; and reproaching him for his ingratitude, said, "Would to God you had been at Rome when I made you speaker." To which Sir Thomas replied, "Your grace not offended, so would I too." And then, to divert him from his ill humour, he began to commend the cardinal's gallery, and said, that he liked it better than his other at Hampton-court: but though he thus put an end to his reproaches, he did not cool his resentment: for afterwards, when the parliament broke up, Wolsey persuaded the king to name him ambassador into Spain, purely with a view of doing him a discourtesy, by sending him into a country which he knew would be disagreeable to him: however, when his majesty mentioned to Sir Thomas the employment he designed him, the knight took the liberty to remonstrate so strongly, yet so modestly against it, that with a candour and condescension not usual to him, Henry was pleased to admit of his arguments; assuring him withal, that his
meaning

meaning was not to hurt, but do him good ; and therefore he would think of some other person for the ambassy, and employ him another way. Accordingly upon the death of Sir R. Wingfield, in the year 1528, Sir Thomas More was appointed chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster, and at the same time admitted into such an high degree of favour with the king, that his majesty would sometimes come, without giving him any notice, to his house at Chelsea, in order to enjoy his conversation upon common affairs.

He one day made Sir Thomas an unexpected visit of this sort to dinner, and having walked with him afterwards in his garden for an hour, with his arm about his neck, it was such a demonstration of kindness and familiarity, that the king being gone, Mr. Roper, one of Sir Thomas's sons in law, could not help observing to him, " How happy he must be, to have his prince distinguish him in so particular a manner." To which Sir Thomas replied, " I thank our lord, son Roper, I find his grace to be my very good master indeed, and I believe that he does as much favour me at present as any subject within this realm ; but yet I may tell thee, son, I have no cause to be proud of it ; for if my head would win him a castle in France (with which kingdom Henry was then at war) it would not fail to be struck off my shoulders."

It was observed of Sir Thomas More, that the ignorant and the proud, even in the highest

station, were those people whom he respected the least; but, on the other hand, he was a patron and a friend to every man of letters, and held almost a continual correspondence with all the literati in Europe. Among foreigners, Erasmus appears to have had the greatest share in his love and confidence; and after a series of mutual letters, expressing their esteem for each other; that witty divine made a voyage to England, on purpose for the benefit of his conversation.

There is a story told of their first coming together, which would hardly deserve to be recorded, if it did not relate to two such eminent men: the person who conducted Erasmus to London, it seems, had so contrived, that Sir Thomas and he should meet, without knowing it, at the lord mayor's table, in those days open at all times to men of parts and knowledge. Now a dispute arising at dinner, Erasmus, in order to display his learning, endeavoured to defend the wrong side of the question; but he was so sharply opposed by Sir Thomas, that, finding he had to do with an abler man than he ever before met with, he said, in Latin, with some vehemence, "You are either More, or nobody." To which Sir Thomas replied, in the same language, with great vivacity, "You are either Erasmus, or the devil." Upon this eclairsissement, the friends immediately embraced; and afterwards, thro' the means of Sir Thomas, Erasmus was much caressed by the greatest men in the nation.

It is remarkable, that of all the servants and favourites Henry the Eighth had, he never treated any with so much tenderness and good humour, as Sir Thomas More. The answer which he made the king on his majesty's desiring his judgment with regard to his marriage with queen Catherine, is well known. Clark and Dunstal, bishops of Bath and Durham, with others of the privy council, having been ordered to consult with him. "To be plain with your grace, said Sir Thomas, neither my lord of Durham, nor my lord of Bath, nor myself, nor any of your privy council, being all your servants, and greatly indebted to your goodness, are in my judgment proper counsellors for your grace upon this point, but, if you please to understand the very truth, you may have such counsellors who neither for respect of their own worldly profit, nor for fear of your princely authority, will deceive you," and then he named Jerome, Austin, and several other ancient fathers, producing the opinions he had collected out of them. But these not conspiring with the king's desires, it is expressing it softly to say, that he did not very well approve of what had passed: Sir Thomas however, used such discretion in his conversation with his majesty afterwards on this subject, that, self willed as Henry was, he did not take it ill of him, and soon after, intending to proceed no farther in his divorce, he appointed Sir Thomas as one of an embassy to Cambray, in order to

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negociate a peace between the Empire and France, in which he procured so much greater advantages to the kingdom than were thought possible, that, for his eminent services, his majesty afterwards gave him the great seal, and made him lord chancellor, in the room of cardinal Wolsey. Upon his entrance into this office a surprizing change was seen by every body ; for, notwithstanding Wolsey's great abilities, and disinterestedness as a chancellor, yet, such was his pride, that he would scarcely look on any of the common rank, and it was difficult to be admitted into his presence only, without bribing his officers ; whereas a man now presided in the court of chancery, who, the meaner his suitors were, the more attentively would he hear the business, and the more readily dispatch it. It is said that one of his son's-in-law, Mr. Dauncy, found fault with him once, between jest and earnest, for this extraordinary condescension, adding " you are so ready to hear every man, poor as well as rich, that there is no getting any thing under you ; whereas, were you otherwise, some for friendship, some for kindred, and some for profit, would gladly have my interest to bring them to you. I know I should do them wrong if I took any thing from them, because they might as readily prefer their suits to you themselves ; but this, tho' I think it very commendable in you, yet to me who am your son, I find it not profitable." " You say well son," cry'd the chan-

chancellor, "I am glad you are of a conscience so scrupulous, but there are many other ways that I may do good to yourself, and pleasure your friends, and this be assured of, upon my faith, that if the parties will call for justice at my hands, then, though it were my father, whom I love so dearly, stood on one side, and the devil, whom I hate so extremely, stood on the other, his cause being good, the devil should have it." But as an indubitable proof that Sir Thomas More would not deviate from justice in the smallest matter, for any consideration, the reader may take the following instance. Another of his son's-in-law, Mr. Heron, having a cause depending, was advised to put it into arbitration, but he, presuming on his father's favour, and not agreeing to this proposal, the chancellor, upon hearing the cause, made a decree directly against him: no *supœna* was issued, no order granted, but what he saw, and having presided in the court of chancery about two years, such was his application to business, that on a cause being finished, and is calling for the next that was to be heard, he was answered, there was not one cause more depending; which he ordered immediately to be set down on record.

When Sir Thomas More was lord chancellor, his father, Sir John, was one of the oldest judges in the King's-Bench, and it was a very unusual sight in Westminster-Hall, to see two such great seats filled by a father and son at the same time. There was another sight, however, still more surprising, for, if the court

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of King's-Bench was sitting, when the chancellor came into the Hall, he went first into that court, and there kneeling down, in the sight of every body, asked his father's blessing : and when they happened to meet together at the readings in Lincoln's Inn, he always offered the precedence to his father, though, on account of his son's high dignity, Sir John as constantly waved it.

Though living, as we find, much at court a chearful man, and a man of business, yet it appears that Sir Thomas More had a different sense of religion upon his mind, from what courtiers and men of business generally have ; we are told, in particular, that it was his constant custom, besides his private prayers, to read the psalms and litany with his wife and children ; in a morning, and every night, to go with his whole family into the chapel, and there devoutly read the psalms and collects with them. But because he chose sometimes to retire, even from his family, and sequester himself from the world, he built at some distance from his mansion house, a gallery, library, and chapel, where as on other days he spent some time in study and devotion, so on Fridays he continued the whole day, employing it in such exercises as he thought might best improve his mind in religious matters. The great offices which he held, and which he always executed with a splendor suitable to their dignity, obliged him to keep many servants ; but he never suffered any of them to be idle, that they might not acquire

acquire a habit of sloth, and to keep them from gaming, and other profligate courses, of which idleness is the source; yet let not the reader imagine from hence that he was a sour and splenetic philosopher; on the contrary he was the farthest from it in the world, and when he unbended himself from study, as full of pleasantries as any man of his time. He had also his hours of relaxation, which were filled with music, and such other serene amusements; but while at meals, he always kept a person to read, in order to prevent any improper conversation before his domestics, and at the end of the entertainment, he generally asked those who sat with him how they understood such and such passages of the author, that had been read out of, from thence taking occasion to improve and divert the company.

But having proceeded thus far in a panegyrick, which truth, which justice demanded of us: we must now, actuated by the same principles, take the other side of the question, and confess, that, while Sir Thomas was adorned with the gentlest manners, and the purest integrity, he carried his aversion against heterodoxy to such a height, as even did great dishonour to his humanity. Of this we have a shocking example, in the case of an unhappy gentleman, named James Bainham, who, being accused of favouring the sect of reformers, was brought to the chancellor's house; and refusing to discover what heretics he knew of, More ordered him to be whipped in his presence, and afterwards sent him to the Tower, where

where he himself, such is the horrid effects of religious fury, put him to the torture :

But it was not this way alone that Sir Thomas More defended the cause of the Romish faith, he also writ several virulent books, in opposition to the broachers of the new opinion, which act of zeal was so acceptable to the English clergy, that, being assembled in full convocation, they unanimously agreed to make him a present of four or five thousand pounds (equal to thirty at this day) as a recompence for his holy labours ; and the same being raised by a general contribution among them, three bishops were deputed to wait upon him in the name of the whole body, to tender their warmest acknowledgments for the service he had done the church ; and to intreat his acceptance of the testimony she offered of her gratitude. But what was the answer of this great man to these reverend fathers ; it would be an injury to give it in any other words than his own. “ It is no small comfort to me” said he, “ that
“ such wise and learned men so well ac-
“ cepted of my works, but I never will re-
“ ceive any reward for them, but at the hand
“ of God :” and when the bishops, on finding he would not by any means touch the money, desired leave to present it to his family, “ Not so, indeed, my lords, replied he :” I had rather see it all cast into the Thames, than that I, or any of mine, should have a penny of it : for though your lordships offer is very friendly and honourable to me, yet, I
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set so much by my pleasure, and so little by my profit, that, in good faith, I would not, for a much larger sum, have lost the rest of so many nights, as was spent upon these writings : and yet I wish, for all that, upon condition that all heresies were suppressed, that all my books were burnt, and my labour entirely lost." The prelates then saw it was in vain to urge him any farther, so with much reluctance they carried the gold back, and restored to their much astonished brethren, the sum every individual had contributed.

It has been asserted by many historians, that Henry gave the great seal to Sir Thomas More, purely with a view of engaging the opinion of so eminent a man in piety and learning, in favour of his divorce from queen Catharine, for he thought, after bestowing on him such a post, Sir Thomas could not, with decency, refuse it : but if these were really the king's sentiments, he knew very little of the person he had to deal with, and in the end found himself mistaken : Sir Thomas always vowed that he thought the marriage lawful in the sight of God, since it had once received the sanction of the apostolic council ; for, tho' he stood the foremost among those who were for abolishing the illegal jurisdiction which the popes exercised in England, he was far from wishing a total rupture with the see of Rome, which he plainly perceived was unavoidable, according to the measures king Henry was then pursuing : all these things considered ! therefore, and knowing he must be engaged

in them, one way or other, on account of his office, by which means he must either offend his conscience, or disoblige the king; from the time matters began to grow to extremity, he never ceased soliciting his great and intimate friend the duke of Norfolk to intercede with his majesty, that he might deliver up the seal, for which, through many infirmities of body, he said he was no longer fit; and being pressed so often by him to this purpose, the duke at length applied to the king, and obtained permission that the chancellor might resign. But when he waited on Henry for that purpose, the monarch, notwithstanding what he called Sir Thomas's obstinacy with regard to his great affair, expressed much unwillingness to part with so useful a servant, and giving him many thanks and commendations, for his excellent execution of a most important trust, assured him, that, in any request he should have occasion to make, which concerned either his interest or his honour, he should always find the crown ready to assist him. How well this promise was fulfilled the sequel will shew.

To the king's eternal infamy, as Sir Thomas More had sustained the office of lord high chancellor, for above two years and a half, with the utmost wisdom and integrity, so he retired from it with an unparalleled greatness of mind; not being able to defray the necessary expences of his private family, when he had divested himself of that employment. About the time of his resignation, died in a
very

very advanced age, his father, Sir John More, whom he often visited and comforted in his illness, and to whom he expressed the most filial affection in his last moments, this was an event however, which brought him a very inconsiderable increase of fortune, because the greatest part of his father's estate was settled upon his second wife, who out-lived Sir Thomas many years. When he had delivered up the great seal therefore, he wrote an apology for himself, in which he declared to the public, that all the revenues and pensions he had by his father, his wife, or his own purchase, except the manors given him by the king, which from a king to such a subject, are not worth naming, did not amount to the value of fifty pounds a year. Strange indeed it will appear in this age, that a privy councillor, who had filled so many great offices for above twenty years, and had been all his life a frugal man, should not have been able to purchase an hundred pounds per annum. But such was this excellent man's charity, and such his contempt of money, that in all that time, he never hoarded a sixpence.

The day after he quitted the chancellorship, which his own family knew nothing of, he went as usual to Chelsea church, with his wife and daughter, and after mass was over (it being customary for one of his gentlemen to go to his lady, to tell her the chancellor was gone out of church) he went himself to the pew door, and making her a low bow, said,

“madam, my lord is gone.” But she knowing his humour, took very little notice of this: however, as they were walking home, he told her how matters really stood, and she, finding he was in earnest, and being a worldly-minded woman, cry’d in her accustomed manner, “Tilly vally, what will you do Mr. More? Will you sit and make coflings in the coals? What is it not better to rule than to be ruled?” but to divert the ill humour which he saw she was in, he began to find fault with her dress, which she chiding her daughters for not seeing, and they affirming there was no fault to be found, he replied with great mirth, “Don’t you perceive that your mother’s nose is somewhat awry?” upon which, she went from him in a passion; perhaps this may seem a trifling story in the life of so great a man, but the reader is to remember that the characters of men are best learned from trifles.

The first thing he set about after the surrender of his office, was to provide places for all his gentlemen and servants among the nobility and bishops, that they might not be sufferers by him. This being done to his satisfaction, he next, being no longer able to bear their expences as he used to do, disposed of his children in their own houses, lessening his family by degrees, till he could get it within the bounds of his small income, small indeed! making, at the utmost, but a little above one hundred pounds a year. Nor had he, when he retired from business, after his debts were paid,

paid, an hundred pounds in gold and silver upon earth, his chain and a few rings excepted.

The prepossession which sir Thomas had, for a long time, entertained of the fate that at last befel him, is very extraordinary: and indeed, through his knowledge of the cruel, inconstant temper of the king, this is said to have been so strong, that he frequently foretold what would happen to his wife and children: nay, he once hired a pursuivant to come suddenly to his house, whilst he was at dinner, and knocking hastily at the door, summon him to appear before the council the next day, which he did in order to arm his family against the calamities which he found approaching. But his first troubles began on account of a female impostor, called the Holy Maid of Kent.

This woman affirmed, that she had revelations from God, to give the king warning of his wicked life, and the abuse of the authority committed to him. In a journey to the nuns of Sion, she called on sir Thomas More, and declaring her pretended revelations to him, he was brought in, by the king's direction, as an accomplice with her. He justified himself, however, as to all the intercourse he had with her, in several letters to secretary Cromwell, in which he said, he was convinced she was the most false dissembling hypocrite that had ever been known. But this availed him nothing, the king being highly incensed against him for not approving the divorce, and his second

marriage ; and when sir Thomas desired to be admitted into the house of commons to make his own defence against the bill, his majesty would not consent to it, but assigned a committee of council to hear him. However, the chief point intended was to prevail on him, by fair words or threatnings, to give a public assent to the king's measure ; to which purpose the lord chancellor Audley made a great parade of his majesty's extraordinary love and favour to sir Thomas : but the worthy knight, not to be shaken, after assuring the committee of the just sense he had of the king's goodness to him, told them, " That he had hoped he should never have heard any more of that business, since he had, from the beginning, informed his majesty of his sentiments with regard to it, and the king accepted them not ungraciously withal, promising, that he should never be molested farther about it. But, however, he had found nothing, since the first agitation of the matter, to persuade him to change his mind ; if he had, it would have given him a great deal of pleasure." Then the lords proceeded to threaten him, telling him it was his majesty's commands they should inform him, he was the most ungrateful and traiterous subject in the world ; adding, that he had been the means of his majesty's publishing a book, in which he had put a sword in the pope's hand to fight against himself. This was Henry's famous book against Luther ; but sir Thomas clearing himself of this charge also, and protesting he

had

had always found fault with those parts of the book, which were calculated to raise the power of the pope, and that he had objected against them to his majesty. The lords, not being able to make any reply to his vindication, broke up the committee; and Mr. Roper, seeing sir Thomas extremely chearful at his return, asked him if his name was struck out of the bill of attainder, that he was in such good spirits. “ I have forgotten
 “ that, said the knight; but, if you would
 “ know the reason of my mirth, it is, that I
 “ have given the devil a foul fall to-day; and
 “ gone so far with those lords, that, without
 “ great shame indeed, I can never go back.”

As the duke of Norfolk, and secretary Cromwell, had a high esteem for sir Thomas, they used their utmost efforts to dissuade the king from proceeding on the bill of attainder; assuring him, that they found the upper house were fully determined to hear him in his own defence, before they would pass it; and, if his name was not struck out, it was much to be apprehended, that the bill would be rejected. But the king was too haughty to submit to a subject, with whom he had entered the lists, and too vindictive in his temper to forgive a man who had been his favourite, and yet had dared to offend him: therefore, after talking in a very high strain, he said, that he would be present himself in the house when the bill should pass; thinking, no doubt, that the parliament stood so much in awe of him, that the lords
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would not then dare to reject it. The committee of council, however, differed from him herein ; and out of the personal friendship they had for sir Thomas More, finding that nothing else would moderate the obstinacy and vehemence with which he pursued this point, they fell on their knees, and besought him to forbear, telling him, “ That if it should be carried against him in his own presence, as they believed it would be, it would encourage his subjects to despise him, and be a dishonour to him also all over Europe. They did not doubt but they should be able to find out something else against sir Thomas, wherein they might serve his majesty with some success ; but, in this affair of the nun, he was universally accounted so innocent, that the world thought him worthier of praise, than of reproof.” With these suggestions, especially that of finding something else against him, they at last subdued the king’s obstinacy ; and the name of sir Thomas More was struck out of the bill.

But as it was now publickly known, that he was as much out of favour with the king, as he had been in his good graces before, accusations poured in against him from every quarter ; and then it was, that he found the peculiar advantage of his innocence and integrity. For, if he had not always acted with the highest probity, so that in all the offices which he went through, he kept himself clear of every sort of corruption, the most trivial matter would have been laid to his charge, in order to
crush

crush him. Of this we have an instance in the case of one Parnell, who complained, that he had made a decree against him in the court of Chancery, at the suit of Vaughan his adversary, for which he had received, (Vaughan being confined at home with the gout) from the hands of his wife, a great gilt cup, as a bribe. Upon this accusation, he was brought before the council by the king's direction ; and being charged by the witnesses with the fact, he readily owned, that as that cup was brought him for a new-year's gift, long after the decree was made, he had not refused to take it.

The lord Wiltshire, father to queen Anne, who prosecuted the suit against him, and who hated him for not consenting to the king's marriage with her, was transported with joy to hear him own it, and cried hastily out, " Lo !
 " my lords, did I not tell you, that you should
 " find the matter true ? " Sir Thomas then desired, that, as they had with indulgence heard him tell one part of the tale, so they would impartially hear the other : and this being granted, he declared, " That though, after much sollicitation, he had indeed received the cup, and it was long after the decree was made, yet he had ordered his butler to fill it immediately with wine, of which he directly drank to Mrs. Vaughan ; and, when she had pledged him in it, then as freely as her husband had given it to him, even so freely he gave the same to her again, to present unto her husband for his new-year's gift ; and which she received, and carried back again, though
 with

with some reluctance." The truth of this, the woman herself, and others then present, deposed before the council, to the great confusion of the lord Wiltshire, and to the disappointment of all his other enemies.

It would be too tedious to relate all the accusations of this sort, which, out of malice or envy, were in the same manner brought against him ; because his integrity had been so clear, that, after the strictest examination, by spies, informers, and little dirty tools of a court, nothing could be found to blemish his reputation. However, the occasion was not far off, which the lords of the cabinet had foretold, of finding something against him, by which his majesty might be enabled to gratify his resentment of so much uprightness and intrepidity as he had shewn.

In a parliament which was called in 1534, amongst many other acts which tended to arrogate the papal power, there was one to declare the king's marriage with Catharine against the law of God, confirming the sentence against it, notwithstanding any dispensation to the contrary ; and establishing the succession to the crown of England in the issue of his majesty's present marriage with queen Anne. There was a clause in this act, That if any person should divulge any thing to the slander of this marriage, or of the issue begotten in it, or, being required to swear to maintain the contents of this act, refuse it, that they should be adjudged for misprision of treason, and suffer accordingly :

accordingly : and, before the two houses broke up, that they might set a good example to the king's other subjects, all the members took the oath relating to the succession ; after which, commissioners were sent all over the kingdom, to administer it to the people of every rank and denomination.

In a short time after the breaking up of the parliament, there was a committee of the cabinet-council at Lambeth, consisting of the archbishop, the lord-chancellor Audley, and secretary Cromwell ; where several ecclesiastics, but no other layman than sir Thomas More, were cited to appear, and take the oath. Sir Thomas being called, and the oath tendered to him under the great seal, he desired to see the act of succession which enjoined it ; and this being also shewed him, he said, “ That he would blame neither those who had made the act, nor those who had taken the oath ; but, for his own part, though he was willing to swear to the succession, in a form of his own drawing, yet the oath which was offered, was so worded, that his conscience revolted against it, and he could not take it with safety to his soul.” He offered, however, to swear to the succession of the crown in the issue of the king's present marriage ; because he thought the parliament had a right to determine that matter. Mr. secretary Cromwell, who tenderly favoured him (to use his own expression) and who knew the consequence of this debate, when he perceived that sir Thomas could not be prevailed on to take the oath

as it was tendered, saw that his ruin would become inevitable ; and, in his great anxiety, protested with an oath, “ That he had rather his only son should have lost his head, than that sir Thomas More should have refused to swear to the succession : ” and the conference ending in this manner, he was committed to the custody of the abbot of Westminster for four days ; during which, the king and his council deliberated, what course it was best to take with him. Several methods were proposed, but Henry would listen to none of them ; and, in the end, sir Thomas More was committed prisoner to the Tower, and indicted on the statutes.

It would be unnecessary to give a particular detail of all the little circumstances, whilst he remained a prisoner in the Tower, which tended to shew the patience and greatness of mind of this extraordinary man : they are many, and various ; let one conversation with his lady, who had leave to visit him after he had been some months confined, suffice. As she had not his magnanimity, and probably not so good an heart, she remonstrated with much petulance, “ That he who had been always reputed so wise a man, should now so play the fool, as to be content to be shut up in a close filthy prison with rats and mice, when he might enjoy his liberty and the king’s favour, if he would but do as all the bishops and other learned men had done : and as he had a good house to live in, his library, his gallery, his
garden,

garden, his orchard, and all other necessaries, handsome about him, where he might enjoy himself with his wife and children, she could not conceive what he meant by tarrying so quietly in this imprisonment." He heard her very patiently, and then asked her in his facetious manner, "Whether that house was not as nigh to heaven as his own?" which she resenting, he added very seriously, "That he saw no great cause for so much joy in his house, and the things about it, which would so soon forget its master, that if he were underground but seven years, and came to it again, he should find those in it, who would bid him be gone, and tell him it was none of his. Besides, his stay in it was so uncertain, that as he would be but a bad merchant, who would put himself in danger to lose eternity, for a thousand years; so how much more, if he was not sure to enjoy it one day to an end?"

Sir Thomas More had now been a prisoner in the Tower above a year, and the king had tried every expedient to procure his approbation of his divorce, and second marriage, that he might avail himself of the example of a man so famous for his wisdom, learning, and religion, but in vain: Sir Thomas had espoused the cause of queen Catharine, upon a principle of conscience, and therefore he always withstood Henry upon that point with a firmness becoming his character. The affair of the supremacy was no less a matter of conscience to him than the other; but as the sta-

tute which enacted it, had made it treason to write or speak against it, he observed a silence in this respect, conformable to the law; but he refused to acknowledge it with an oath; wherefore, the king being determined to get rid of a man who had given him so much trouble, and of whose virtues and popularity he stood in awe, gave orders, that Sir Thomas More should be brought to his trial.

In consequence of this, on a day appointed, he was conveyed in a boat from the Tower to Westminster-hall. So long an imprisonment had much impaired his strength, he went, therefore, leaning on his staff from the water-side; but though his countenance carried the marks of weakness and infirmity, it had the same air of cheerfulness, which always sat upon it in the days of his prosperity. He was tried by the lord-chancellor, and a committee of the lords, with some of the judges at the bar of the King's-bench. When the attorney-general, had gone through the charge against him, in the indictment, in the most virulent manner, the lord-chancellor said to him, in which he was seconded by the duke of Norfolk, "You see now, how grievously you have offended his majesty: nevertheless, he is so merciful, that, if you will but leave your obstinacy, and change your opinion, we hope you may yet obtain pardon of his highness for what is past." To this he replied with great resolution, "That he had much cause to thank these noble lords for this curtesy, but he besought

fought Almighty God, that, through his grace, he might continue in the mind he was then in unto death." After this, he was permitted to say what he could for himself, in answer to the indictment; and he began as follows:

"There are four principal heads, if I am not deceived, of this my indictment, every one of which, God willing, I propose to answer in order. To the first that is objected against me, That I have been an enemy, out of stubbornness, to the king's second marriage: I confess, that I always told his majesty my opinion in it, as my conscience dictated to me; but I am so far from thinking myself guilty of high treason upon this account, that, on the contrary, being asked in a matter of such great importance, had I basely flattered my prince against my conscience, then, I think, I should have worthily been accounted a wicked subject, and a perfidious traitor to God. Herein, however, if I offended, I suppose there has already been punishment sufficient in the loss of all my goods, and almost fifteen months imprisonment. My second accusation is, that I have transgressed a statute, in that being a prisoner, and twice examined by the lords of the council, I would not disclose unto them my opinion, out of an obstinate and traiterous mind, whether the king was supreme head of the church, or not: yet I then protested, that I had never said or done any thing against it, neither can one word or action of mine be produced to make me culpable. By all which I

know that I could not transgress any law, or incur any crime of treason : for neither this statute, nor any law in the world, can punish a man for holding his peace : they only can punish either words or deeds, God alone being judge of our secret thoughts. I come now to the third capital matter of my indictment, whereby I am accused, that I maliciously practised against this statute, because I wrote eight packets of letters, whilst I was in the Tower, to bishop Fisher, by which I exhorted him to break the same law. I would have these letters produced, and read against me, which may either free me, or convict me of a lie. But, because you say the bishop burnt them all, I will here tell the truth of the whole matter : some of them were only about our private affairs, as being old friends and acquaintance : one of them was in answer to his, whereby he desired to know how I had answered in my examinations to this oath of supremacy ; touching which, this only I wrote unto him again, That I had already settled my conscience, let him settle his to his own good liking ; and this, I trust, is no breach of your laws. The last objected crime is, that being examined in the Tower, I did say, that this law was like a two-edged sword ; for, in consenting thereto, I should endanger my soul, and, in refusing it, I should lose my life. From which answer, because bishop Fisher made the like, it is evidently gathered, as you say, that we both conspired together. To this I reply, that if his
answer

answer were like mine, it proceeded not from any conspiracy of ours, but from the likeness of our wits and learning. And, to conclude, I unfeignedly avouch, that I never spoke a word against this law to any living man ; although, perhaps, his majesty has been told to the contrary."

To a justification so full as this, the attorney general had no reply to make ; but the word Malice being in the mouth of almost all the court, the judges proceeded to examine the witnesses, in order to prove his treason to the jury ; and Mr. Rich, the solicitor-general, being called and sworn, deposed, that when he was sent, some time before, to fetch Sir Thomas More's books and papers from the Tower, at the end of a conversation with him upon the king's supremacy, on Mr. Rich's owning, on a case put by him, that no parliament could make a law that God should not be God, Sir Thomas replied, " No more can the parliament make the king supreme head of the church." When the solicitor-general had given this evidence to the court on oath, the prisoner, under a great surprize at the malice and falshood of it, said, " If I was a man, my lords, that did not regard an oath, I needed not, at this time, and in this place, as it is well known to you all, stand as an accused person ; and, if this oath, Mr. Rich, which you have taken, be true, then I pray, that I may never see God in the face, which I would not say, were it otherwise, to gain the whole

world." Upon which, the solicitor not being able to prove his testimony by witnesses, tho' he attempted it, that allegation dropped.

The reader, who has attended to this impartial abstract of the trial, and who considers the characters of the prisoner and the witness, will, it is apprehended, acquit Sir Thomas More of the indictment without any hesitation. But, unhappily for him, he lived in the days of Henry VIII. whose will was a law to judges, as well as juries : notwithstanding, therefore, that his innocence was so clearly pointed out, and the evidence against him so ill supported, or rather proved so evidently to be false ; yet the jury, to their eternal reproach, found him guilty. They had no sooner brought in their verdict, than the lord-chancellor Audly, as the mouth of the court, began immediately to pronounce the sentence ; but the prisoner stopped him short with this modest rebuke : " My lord, when I was towards the law, the manner in such cases was, to ask the prisoner, before sentence, whether he could give any reason why judgment should not proceed against him ?" Upon this, the chancellor had the grace to stay, and asked Sir Thomas what he was able to alledge. But if a jury could not be moved by what he had said in defending himself against the charge in this indictment, there could be little hope, that judges would be influenced to wave their sentence by what he should say against the matter of the indictment itself. However, whether the exceptions
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he made were too strong to be answered ; or whether the chancellor began at this time to feel some little compunction ; or, whether he had reason to be afraid of the popular clamour, if he took the condemnation of the prisoner entirely upon himself ; after Sir Thomas had done speaking, he turned to the lord-chief-justice, and asked him his opinion openly before the court, as to the validity of the indictment, notwithstanding the exceptions of the prisoner. The answer of the chief-justice, whose name was Fitz-James, is somewhat remarkable : “ My lords all, by St. Gillian, I must needs confess, that if the act of parliament be not unlawful, then in my conscience the indictment is not insufficient.” Upon this equivocal expression, the lord-chancellor said to the rest, “ Lo, my lords ; lo, you hear what my lord-chief justice saith ;” and, without waiting for any reply, proceeded to pass sentence, “ That Sir Thomas More should be carried back to the Tower of London, and from thence drawn on a hurdle through the city to Tyburn, there to be hanged till he was half-dead ; after that, cut down, yet alive, his privy parts cut off, his belly ripped, his bowels burnt, his four quarters set up over four gates of the city, and his head upon London-bridge.”

This shocking sentence filled the eyes of many with tears, and their hearts with horror ; then the court telling Sir Thomas, that if he had any thing further to say, they were ready

to hear him, he stood up, and said, " I have nothing to say, my lords, but that like as the blessed apostle St. Paul was present, and consented to the death of Stephen, and kept their clothes who stoned him to death, and yet be they now both twain holy saints in heaven, and shall continue there friends for ever ; so I verily trust, and shall therefore right heartily pray, that though your lordships have now been judges on earth to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter all meet together in heaven, to our everlasting salvation : and so I pray God preserve you all, and especially my sovereign lord the king, and send him faithful counsellors."

Having taken his leave of the court in this noble manner, he was conducted from the bar to the Tower, with the axe carried before him in the usual manner after condemnation. But, when he came to the Tower-Wharf, his favourite daughter, Mrs. Roper, thinking this would be the last opportunity she should ever have, was waiting there to see him : as soon as he appeared, she burst through the throng and guard, which surrounded him, and having received his blessing upon her knees, she embraced him eagerly before them all, amidst a flood of tears, and a thousand kisses of tenderness, and affection, her heart being ready to break with grief, the only words that she could utter, were, " My father, oh my father," If any thing could have shaken his fortitude, it must be this ; but he only took her up in
his

his arms, and told her “ That whatsoever he
 “ should suffer, tho’ he was innocent, yet it was
 “ not without the will of God, to whose
 “ blessed pleasure she should conform her
 “ own will ; that she knew well enough all
 “ the secrets of his heart, and that she
 “ must be patient for her loss.” Upon this
 she parted from him, but scarce was she turned
 aside, before her passion of grief and love be-
 came irresistible, and she again suddenly broke
 through the croud, ran eagerly upon him the
 second time, took him round the neck, and
 hung upon him with her embraces, ready
 to die with sorrow: this was rather too
 much for man to bear, and, though he did not
 speak a word, yet the tears flowed down his
 cheeks in great abundance, till she took her
 last kiss, and left him.

After he had lain a few days under the
 sentence of death, preparing his mind by prayer
 and meditation, for the stroke which was to
 follow ; one of the creatures of the king made
 him a visit, with an intent to persuade him,
 if possible, to comply with his majesty’s will,
 and to change his mind. Sir Thomas, wearied
 at last with his nonsense and importunity,
 in order to get rid of him, told him, “ That
 “ he had changed it,” which words were no
 sooner out of his mouth, than the courtier,
 pluming himself upon the merit he should have
 in bringing Sir Thomas More to the point
 which his majesty wished, and so many others
 tried in vain ; he went in great haste and joy
 to

to inform the king. Henry, however, was not without apprehensions of a mistake; he ordered the messenger of the news, therefore, to return immediately to the Tower, to know in what particulars the prisoner had changed his mind: when he had the mortification not only to be rebuked for his impertinent officiousness, in telling his majesty every word Sir Thomas had said, even in jest; but also to learn, that he had changed his mind no otherways than this, "That whereas he intended to be shaved, that he might appear to the people as he was wont to do before his imprisonment, he was now fully resolved that his beard should share the same fate with his head." In consideration that he had borne the highest office in the kingdom, his sentence of being drawn, hanged, and quartered, was, by the king's pardon, changed into beheading, and when he was informed of it, he said, with his usual mirth, "God forbid the king should use any more such mercy to any of my friends; and God bless my posterity from such pardons."

On the 5th, of July, 1338, Sir Thomas Pope, his intimate friend, came to him from the king, very early in the morning, to acquaint him that he should be executed that day at nine o'clock, and therefore that he must immediately prepare himself for death. However, if his majesty intended to shock, or affright him by this short warning, he lost his aim so entirely, that the prisoner said to Sir
Thomas

Thomas Pope, "I most heartily thank you for your good tidings; I have been much bound to the king's highness for the benefit of his honours that he hath most bountifully bestowed upon me, yet am I more bound to his grace, I do assure you, for putting me here, where I have had convenient time and space to have remembrance of my end, and so help me God, most of all I am bound unto him, that it hath pleased his majesty so shortly to rid me out of the miseries of this wretched world." His friend then told him that his majesty's pleasure farther was, that he should not use many words at his execution; to which Sir Thomas answered, "You do well, Mr. Pope, to give me warning of the king's pleasure, herein, for otherwise I had proposed at that time, to have spoken somewhat, but no matter wherewith his grace, or any others should have cause to be offended, howbeit, whatsoever I intended, I am ready to conform myself obediently to his highness's command, and I beseech you, good Mr. Pope, to be a means to his majesty, that my daughter Margaret may be at my burial." Being told that the king had already consented that his wife, and children, and any of his friends, might have the liberty to be present at it, he added, "O how much beholden then am I to his grace, that unto my poor burial vouchsafeth to have such gracious consideration." Sir Thomas Pope having thus discharged his commission, bid his friend adieu, with many tears, and with
much

much commiseration ; but the prisoner desired him to be comforted with the prospect of eternal bliss, in which they should live and love together ; and to give him an impression of the ease and quiet of his own mind, he took his urinal in his hand, and casting his water, said with his usual mirth, “ I see no danger but that this man might live longer, if it had pleased the king.”

As soon as Sir Thomas Pope had left him, he dressed himself in the best cloaths he had, that his appearance might express the ease and complacency which he felt within ; the lieutenant of the Tower objecting to this generosity to his executioner, who was to have his cloaths, Sir Thomas assured him “ If it was cloth of gold, he should think it well bestowed on him who was to do him so singular a benefit.” But the lieutenant, who was his friend, pressing him very much to change his dress, and Sir Thomas, being very unwilling to deny him so small a gratification, put on a gown of frize, and of the little money that he had left, sent an angel to the executioner, as a token of his good will.

And now the fatal hour being come, about nine o'clock he was brought out of the Tower, carrying a red cross in his hand, and often lifting up his eyes to heaven. A woman meeting him with a cup of wine, he refused it, saying, “ Christ at his passion drank no wine, but gaul and vinegar.” Another woman came crying and demanded some papers she said she had left

left in his hands when he was lord chancellor. To whom he said, " Good woman have patience but for an hour, and the king will rid me of the care I have for those papers, and every thing else." Another woman followed him, crying, he had done her much wrong when he was lord chancellor. To whom he said, " I very well remember the cause, and if I were to decide it now, I should make the same decree." When he came to the scaffold, it seem'd ready to fall; whereupon he said, merrily, to the lieutenant, " Pray, Sir, see me safe up; and as to my coming down, let me shift for myself." Then he desired the people to pray for him, and bear witness he died in the faith of the catholic church, a faithful servant both to God and the king. He repeated the miserere psalm kneeling with much devotion; and the executioner asking him forgiveness, he kissed him, and said, " pluck up thy spirits man, and be not afraid to do thine office; my neck is very short, take heed therefore thou strike not awry, for saving thine honesty." Laying his head upon the block, he bid the executioner stay till he had put his beard aside, for that had committed no treason; upon which, at one blow of the axe, his head was severed from his body. In this manner ended the life of Sir Thomas More, who, for his justice, humility, devotion, sweetness of temper, contempt of the world, and true greatness of mind, was the orrument of his own, and may be an example to every age.

THE LIFE OF
JOHN COLET. D.D.

THIS excellent man, was son and heir to Sir Henry Collet, knight, who being bred a mercer at London, was one of the sheriffs in 1477. and escaping the tyranny of Richard the III^d. and assisting Henry the VIIth. in the beginning of his reign, was knighted, and elected lord mayor; to which office he had the honour to be called a second time. This Sir Henry had two and twenty children, eleven sons, and as many daughters, by his wife Christiana Knevet, a gentlewoman of good family; he himself being also descended from a very antient and reputable house, in Buckinghamshire: but our John was not only the eldest fruit of this marriage, but within a few years became the sole surviving issue, so that his parents had no other care or comfort left. It appears that he buried his father in the year 1510, but his mother lived to bury him, being at her death upwards of ninety years old. Sir Henry and his lady were very eminent for their charity, but for nothing more than their great munificence towards their parish church; which was then called St. Anthony's, but now St. Antholin's, within the city of London; their effigies, with those of all their children, being to be seen, in Stowe's
time



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D^r Collected



time, in the glass windows, on the north side of that edifice, and in this parish, their son John was born, Anno Domini 1468.

As to his early education, we have but a very imperfect account of it; however, it is a very probable conjecture, that he received the first rudiments of learning, at St. Anthony's free-school, then the most famous in London, though now gone to decay; from whence, in 1483, he removed to the university of Oxford, where having spent seven years in logicals, and philosophicals, he was licenced to proceed in arts; being so exquisitely learned, that all the works of Tully were as familiar to him as his epistles; neither was he a stranger to Plato, and Plotinus, which he diligently perused and compared, one as a comment on the other. But such was the infelicity of those times, that the Greek language, was not only neglected in our schools and universities, but the love, and encouragement of it, was looked upon as heresy; in reference to which barbarous opinion, Erasmus quotes a proverb, "Cave a Græcis, ne fias hereticus, Take care of the Greek, lest you become a heretic." So that Colet was obliged to read the above mentioned authors, in their latin translations, till in his more advanced years, he became acquainted with the great originals.

When Colet had taken his degrees in arts at Oxford, he had a sufficient estate to support him as a gentleman, and a fair interest to recommend him at court. He had the advan-

tage of a tall and graceful personage : and this turn to a courtier might perhaps have been the advice of his father, who had been used to gaiety and splendour in the public offices in the city, and gained a very particular interest in the king : But the pious young man, determined by his own spirit of religion, was resolved to enter into holy orders, and renounce the temptations of his birth and fortune. Sir William Knevet, knight, and Dame Joan his wife, presented Colet, in 1485, to the church of St. Mary Denyngton, in the county of Suffolk, and diocese of Norwich. This made Cambridge a convenient road between Oxford and his benefice, and might well intitle him to that relation to both universities, which is ascribed to him by Polydore Virgil. He was scarce nineteen years old, when he was presented to this great living of Denyngton, which he kept as long as he lived. In 1490, he was also presented by his own father to the living of Thrynning, in the county of Huntingdon, and diocese of Lincoln ; which he resigned in 1493, when he was admitted to the prebendary of Botevant in the church of York, upon the resignation of the famous Christopher Urfwicke. He was also made prebend of Goodeaster in the church of St. Martin Le Grand, which he resigned the 26th of January 1503, having been admitted the year before to the prebend of Durnesford in the church of Sarum. These early preferments had great weight upon his mind ; as well as every thing that tended towards bringing on
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a reformation in the church. But he had such a tender regard to the dignity of his sacred office and function, that he deferred being ordained deacon till the 17th of December, 1497, and the same year he was made priest.

These preferments, bestowed on a youth under age, may seem a little extraordinary to some ; but we must consider it was the custom of the Romish church ; and, if Mr. Colet did enter upon the care of souls before he could sufficiently consider the weighty charge belonging thereto, he attoned for it by his extraordinary care, when he came to maturity. Besides, he had, from his first entrance into the college, turned himself much to reading books of divinity : Erasmus assures us, that he had searched into, and gained a perfect acquaintance with, the antient fathers, particularly Dionysius, Origen, Cyprian, Ambrose, Jerom, and St. Austin, while he was yet a boy, though the last author was never one of his favourites : nor were his studies confined to these books alone ; he also read Scotus and Thomas, the two great schoolmen, who gave birth to the different parties then subsisting in our universities, under the denomination of Scotists and Thomists. But he looked over their train, rather in compliance with the fashion of the age, than from any pleasure he received from it. His principal industry was laid out in consulting the best tracts in the civil and canon law : there was no treatise, re-

lating either to the history of the church or state, which he did not diligently inspect; nay he even ran through all such English poets as were then extant, with a view to correct and embellish his stile, and fit him for an eloquent preacher. Another of his cotemporary writers says, that Colet, by an easy and natural disposition, was inclined to piety and religion: therefore, as soon as he grew towards a man, and was well instructed in all those arts and sciences that are called humanity, he applied himself to the study of divinity, chusing St. Paul as his particular master, and exercising himself perfectly in his writings both at Oxford and Cambridge.

But not content with these improvements, in the year 1493, our young divine determined to leave his native country, and polish, in foreign parts, what he had acquired at home. With this intent, he quitted Oxford, and passing over to the continent, studied divinity both in Italy and France, where he met with several other English students, who were come abroad in order to attain the Greek tongue; for the passion for that language, and the purer writers in the Latin, was now grown very prevalent all over Europe, and no where more than in England, from whence numbers of the youth, and many advanced in life, continually went out in quest of them; because, though several volumes of the works of the best authors lay dormant in our colleges and monasteries, the monks,
who

who knew that ignorance was their chief support, could by no means be brought to communicate them.

At the time when Colet went abroad, the grand mart of letters was at Paris : thither he consequently directed his pursuit. His large income enabled him to render his parts conspicuous, and those quickly gained the esteem and admiration of all that saw and heard him. Here he met with an agreeable companion in Robert Guaguinus, the historian, who had been ambassador from Charles, the French king, to Henry VII. and here it was that Colet first conceived an inclination to be acquainted with (his afterwards intimate friend) Erasmus ; Guaguinus shewing him a specimen of that celebrated Dutchman's parts and learning, in a letter sent to him upon his publishing the history of France. In this place Colet likewise acquired the friendship of Deloigne and Budens, the former of which recommended him again to the notice of Erasmus, by the honourable mention he made of our English doctor in his letters to Holland. Colet visited several parts of Italy, and resided some months at Rome, where there was an English court, on account of frequent embassies. It was at this place that the celebrated William Lily first fell under his observation, who had learnt the Greek at Rhodes, and was improving himself in Latin under John Sulpitius and Pomponius Sabinus. Colet also contracted an intimacy with some learned foreigners, as well

as with his own countrymen Grocyne and Linacer, who were perfecting their skill in Greek at Florence, under the instruction of Demetrius and Politianus, as William Latymer was at Padua.

By the best accounts we can gather, Colet remained about four years on his travels, returning from abroad in 1497 : but upon this occasion it is said, he had much difficulty to resist his desire of appearing at court, where he could shew the accomplishments he had acquired in the world to the best advantage. Indeed he was endowed with some natural propensities, which were better adapted to a public life, than the confinement of a college. He had naturally a high spirit, impatient of the least injury and affront. By the same bent of nature he was also addicted to love and luxury ; he had a tincture of avarice, and was inclined to an air of freedom and pleasantry. But he first conquered, and then commanded himself, by so far subjecting his passions to reason and philosophy, that he could bear a reproof, even from his own servants. He restrained his disposition to love, sleep, and luxury, by a continual abstinence, a strict sobriety, close application, serious thinking, and religious conversation ; he preserved every step of his whole life from the pollutions of the world, and Erasmus tells us, that he was perfectly chaste, and died in virgin purity : and yet, whenever opportunities offered themselves, either of jesting with facetious persons,

or talking familiarly with the female sex, or of appearing at feasts and entertainments, nature was sure to break forth ; for which reason, he very seldom associated with laymen, and forbore all public places : but if necessity brought him, he singled out some learned person from the rest, with whom he discoursed in Latin, to avoid the prophane discourse of the table ; and, in the mean time, he would eat of but one dish, and take but one or two draughts of beer, for the most part refraining from wine, which yet he relished, if very good. There never was, (says Erasmus) a more flowing wit ; and, for that reason, he delighted in the like society ; but even there he chose such discourses as favoured most of religion ; and it is a proof of his great good-nature, that he was a passionate lover of little children, whose innocence and simplicity he admired of all things.

The first thing which Colet did, after his return home, was to be ordained deacon, and, shortly after, priest. His father and mother then lived at London and Stepney, with whom he resided a few months ; but he thought the duties of his function were, of all things, what most merited his regard : he left them, therefore, and retired to Oxford the same year ; and it being the custom at that time for men of distinguished parts in the university to set up voluntary lectures, by way of exposition or comment on some celebrated writer, Colet had neither taken nor desired any degree in
divinity ;

divinity ; but he read public lectures in the university, without stipend or reward, by way of exposition of the epistles of St. Paul. The novelty of these exercises might, at first, gather an audience, yet nothing could have kept it up, but the abilities of the performer. There was not a doctor in divinity or law, nor abbot, or any other dignity in the church, who neglected to hear Colet, or withheld from him the applause that he deserved ; the bigots only, and those whose interest it was to keep up the old ignorance and superstition, treated his discourses as those of a heretic and schismatic, because they openly avowed the necessity for a reformation.

Things were in this posture at Oxford, when Erasmus, who had been for some time at Paris, as tutor to the lord Montjoy, was prevailed on by that nobleman to come over to England ; and having a recommendation to Richard Charnock, of the college of St. Mary the Virgin, he went directly to that university, where he was received and accommodated with diet and lodging, in the most friendly and hospitable manner ; and at this time, and in this place, it was, that the friendship of those two celebrated men, Colet and Erasmus, had its first beginning ; though, as we have already observed, they were before sufficiently acquainted with each other by character.

Charnock, to whom Erasmus had been recommended, was also an intimate acquaintance of Colet's ; and he had no sooner mentioned
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the name of his guest, than we find the doctor's impatience to recommend himself to so excellent a person ; for not waiting an opportunity to see Erasmus, he immediately wrote him, from his own chamber, an elegant and agreeable epistle, in such a set of obliging thoughts and expressions, as shewed the writer to be a scholar, a traveller, and a gentleman, concluding with these words : " I congratulate your arrival in this island, and wish our country could be as pleasant to you, as, I know, you, by your great learning, must be useful to our country. I am, sir, and shall always be, devoted to one whom I think to be the most learned, and the best of men." Erasmus directly returned him an answer, equally polite and spirited, and said, " If he could find any thing commendable in himself, he should be proud of being commended by such a worthy person, to whose judgment he allowed so great weight ; but his silent esteem alone had been preferable to all the applauses of a theatre at Rome. Your country of England," adds he, " is most pleasant to me upon many accounts, particularly in this, that it abounds with those blessings, without which nothing would relish with me, men of admirable learning, among whom, no mortal will repine, that I reckon you the chief." He then praises the stile of his letters, as easy, smooth, unaffected, flowing from a rich vein, as water from a clear fountain, every part like itself, open, plain, modest, having no-
thing

thing in it rough, turbid, or intricate ; so that he could see the image of his soul in what he wrote.

This foundation of friendship, laid in writing, ended in the strictest intimacy imaginable, which continued to the end of their lives. They studied to improve each other, and instruct mankind : thus, after a Latin sermon, being once at a public dinner in the university, where Colet sat as moderator ; and the table talk was scholastic and theological, Colet said, “ That the greatest offence of Cain, and the most odious in the sight of God, was his distrusting the bounty of our creator, and placing too much confidence in his art and industry, by tilling the ground ; while his brother Abel, content with the natural productions of the earth, was only feeding sheep.” The whole company engaged upon this argument : “ But in truth, (says Erasmus) Colet was more than a match for us all : he seemed to be filled with a divine spirit, and to be somewhat above a man : he spoke not only with his voice, but with his eyes, his countenance, and his whole deportment.” Indeed, their love and friendship for each other grew so extraordinary, that Erasmus, in a letter to lord Montjoy, acquaints him, “ That nothing could be more sweet, lovely, and charming, than the temper and conversation of Colet ; and that he could live in Scythia, or the remotest part of the world, with such an agreeable friend and companion.”

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In 1499, Erasmus and his admired friend first held their conferences upon our blessed Saviour's reluctances and fears before his last passion. Colet could not approve of the common opinion of divines, that Christ, upon a prospect of his agonies, shrunk from them in his human nature. Erasmus maintained the opinion of the schoolmen : but Colet had the advantage of the best meaning, and of the greatest courage, in departing from the common sentiments of the schools and the church, in that credulous age. Erasmus concludes his epistle concerning this dispute, in the most friendly and respectful manner ; calling himself a rash man, and a raw foldier, for entering the lists with such an experienced general as Colet ; appearing pleased at his confutation, Colet telling him, " When, like two flints, we are striking one another, if any spark of light flies out, let us eagerly catch at it ; we seek not for our own opinion, but for truth, which, in this mutual conflict, may be extorted as fire out of steel." Colet also freely expressed to Erasmus his great dislike of that new theology, which was unhappily brought into the church by the modern schoolmen, and was, in effect, nothing but the art of trifling and wrangling. He told him, he had set himself against those scholastic divines, and would, if possible, restore the theological studies that were founded upon the scriptures, and the primitive fathers. He said, it was upon this view, he had publicly expounded

the epistles of St. Paul, and should be glad of a partner in that labour of searching the scriptures.

When Erasmus left England, Collet still continued at Oxford, where he went on with his useful exposition of the apostolical epistles; though the use and study of the scriptures was so low at this time, that the highest degree of doctor of divinity could not admit a man to the reading of them, which made Colet negligent of those degrees. However, by the importunity of his friends, we find him doctor of divinity in 1504: but his thoughts were entirely bent on the destruction of that idol of ignorance, the cobweb divinity of the schools, and to exalt the scriptures and Jesus Christ in its room; for which reason the schoolmen always looked upon Colet with a jealous eye; and he thought disputing with those old theologues was like "fighting with beasts at Ephesus:" yet these were the monsters he frequently engaged, always vanquished, and never convinced; though he still continued to shew the necessity of a reformation, by expelling the Scotists and Thomists, who had divided the Christian world between them, by discovering the shameful abuses of monasteries, and houses called religious; and by the perils of imposing celibacy on the clergy.

King Henry VII. loved to give unexpected and undesired favours. He looked upon Colet as a most eminent divine, and excellent preacher: he found this priest without ambi-
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tion, therefore thought him more worthy of preferment; and, in 1505, Colet was made dean of St. Paul's, without his solicitation or knowledge. Erasmus was then at Paris, and immediately sent a letter to his friend on his promotion, wherein he says, "He could not so much congratulate his person, as the world, which would have the benefit; and the honours themselves, which then seemed worthy of their name, when they fell upon a man of merit, without his own seeking. And indeed, this excellent man, as if he had been called to the labours, not to the dignity of his office, restored the decayed discipline of his cathedral church, and brought in what was a new practice there, preaching himself upon Sundays, and all solemn festivals. He would not even take a desultory text out of the gospel or epistle for the day, but chose a fixed and larger subject, which he prosecuted in several successive discourses, till he went through the whole; as suppose the gospel of St. Matthew, the Creed, or the Lord's Prayer. He had always a full auditory, and the chief magistrates of the city. Nor was he only a free and constant preacher of the gospel in his own cathedral, but at court, and in many other churches in the city, where his sermons were much frequented, because the strict discipline of his life regularly corresponded with the integrity of his doctrine.

Till this time, there was scarce so much as a Latin Testament in any cathedral church in England. Instead of the gospel of Christ, the

gospel of Nicodemus was affixed to a pillar in the nave of the church, as Erasmus says, who was surprized at it, in the metropolitical church of Canterbury. But the method that dean Colet took in expounding the scriptures, though in a language unknown to the people, began to raise in them an enquiry after those oracles of God ; and that he was more than half a protestant, appears from his condemning auricular confession, purgatory, and the daily celebration of mass. He would have all divine service performed in a serious and solemn manner : he was delighted with the apostolical epistles ; but more affected with the admirable words of our Saviour in the gospels, which he selected under proper heads, and intended to write a book upon them ; and Erasmus has transmitted the following relation of the dean's manner of living, as an example to posterity.

“ The dean's table, under the name of hospitality, had served too much to pomp and luxury, which he contracted to a more frugal and temperate way of entertainment : it had been his custom, for many years, to eat only one meal a day, that of dinner ; so that he always had the evening to himself. When he dined privately with his own family, he had some strangers for his guests ; but few, because his provision was frugal, though genteel, The sittings were short, and such as pleased only the learned and good. When grace before meat was said, some boy, with a good voice,

voice, read distinctly a chapter out of one of St. Paul's Epistles, or out of the proverbs of Solomon. When the chapter was ended, the dean would mention some particular part of it, from whence he would frame a subject for conversation, and ask his companions their sense of its meaning : but he so adapted his manner to their dispositions, that he caused even these grave subjects neither to tire their patience, or give any other distaste. Towards the end of the repast, he generally started another subject of discourse, and then dismissed his guests, profited both in mind and body from those visits which they paid him. The conversation of his particular friends gave him infinite delight, which he would sometimes protract till far in the evening ; but their discourse was either on religion or learning. He was curious in the choice of his company ; therefore, if he could not have such as were agreeable, he caused a servant to read to him out of the scriptures. In his travelling, says Erasmus, he would sometimes make me of his company, and then no man was more easy and pleasant. He always carried a book with him, and seasoned his conversation with religion. He had an aversion to all indecent or improper speaking ; loved to be neat and clean in his apparel, furniture, entertainment, books, and whatever belonged to him ; yet he despised all state and magnificence. Though it was then a custom for the higher clergy to appear in purple, his habit

was only black. His upper garment was of plain woollen cloth, which, in cold weather, was lined with fur. Whatever he received by church preferments, was delivered to his steward to be laid out in family occasions, or hospitality : and all that arose from his large paternal estate, was appropriated to pious and charitable uses."

However, dean Colet could not escape the censure of an heretic, or an enemy of the church ; for having a great tenderness and compassion for the honest people who suffered as Lollards, he had the courage to interpose for one of them with the king, who granted him his life and liberty. This act of humanity was sufficient with his bishop, who was a rigid Scotist, and a virulent persecutor of the new sect : he accused the dean of heresy, and presented articles against him to the archbishop. But Warham well knew the worth and integrity of Colet : he defended, therefore, and patronized him ; nor would he give him the trouble of putting in any formal answer. It is also said, that the bishop would have made the dean a heretic for translating the Pater Noster into English, if the archbishop had not stood up in his defence.

But the troubles and persecutions which Colet underwent, only served to increase his charity and devotion. He had a plentiful estate, without any near relations ; and he was resolved to consecrate the whole property of it to some permanent benefaction, in his
own

own life-time, as William of Wykeham had done at Winchester, in the reign of Edward III. Churches, monasteries, religious houses, and chauntries, had long been the charnels of public charities in England : but they now began to give way to the erecting of colleges, and providing for students in the universities. Learning was brought out of 'taly, and was diffused by the art of printing. Colet thought therefore, that it would promote the restoration and improvement of letters, to provide a grammar-school, for the instruction of youth in the two subsidiary languages of Latin and Greek. He apprehended this would be laying the best foundation for academical studies, particularly those of divinity ; and conceived, that, in being the founder of one such grammar-school, he should be the restorer of the two universities.

London was the place of his nativity, and was most worthy of his intended charity ; but the best account of this is given by Erasmus, who says, “ He laid out a great part of his inheritance in building St. Paul’s school, which is a magnificent fabric, dedicated to the child Jesus. Two dwelling-houses were added for the two masters, to whom ample salaries are allotted. The school is divided into four apartments : the boys have their distinct forms one above another ; and every form holds sixteen. The wise founder saw, that the greatest hopes and happiness of the commonwealth were in the training up of children to good letters

ters and true religion ; for which noble purpose he laid out an immense sum, and would admit no person to bear a share in the expence.

After he had finished all, he left the perpetual care, government, and superintendency of the estate, not to the clergy, the bishop, the chapter, or any great minister at court, but to married citizens, of probity and reputation. When he was asked the reason, he answered, There was no certainty in human affairs ; but he found less corruption in such a body of citizens, than in any other body of men." The founder has not clogged this noble seminary with any statute that might prevent it from being generally useful to the world. Children born in any part of the kingdom, even foreigners of all nations and countries, are capacitated to take part of its privileges. The wisdom of the founder is also very apparent, in giving liberty to declare the sense of his statutes in general, and to alter or correct, add or diminish, as should be thought proper and convenient, in future times, for the better government of the school.

These statutes were drawn up by the dean himself, in English ; but with such a grave and pious strain, that they seem to have been wrote by one who was not of the communion of the Romish church. In the prologue he says, that " desiring nothyng more thanne education and bringing uppe children in good manners, and literature, in the yere of our Lorde A. M. fyve hundred and twelwe, he bylded a
scole,

ſcole the eſtende of Paulis church, of CLIII. to be taught fre in the ſame. And ordained there a maſter, and a ſurmaſter, and a chapelyn, with ſufficient and perpetual ſtipendes ever to endure ; and ſet patrones and defenders, góvernours and rulers of that ſame ſcole, the moſt honeſt and faithful fellowſhip of the mercers of London.”

As dean Colet had been the pious founder of this ſchool, he alſo laboured himſelf to be the perpetual teacher and inſtructor of the ſcholars, by drawing up ſome rudiments of grammar, with an abridgment of the principles of religion, and publiſhed them for the ſtanding uſe of Paul's ſchool. It was called Paul's Accidence, and dedicated to William Lily, the firſt maſter, in a ſhort elegant Latin epiſtle, dated the firſt of Auguſt, 1510. In this introduction to grammar, the dean preſcribed ſome excellent rules for the admission and continuance of boys in his ſchool, which were to be read over to the parents, when they firſt brought their children, for their aſſent to them, as the expreſs terms and conditions of expecting any benefit of education there. The dean alſo prevailed on Eraſmus to tranſlate from the Engliſh the inſtitution of a Chriſtian man into Latin verſe, briefly and plainly, for the eaſy apprehenſion and memory of the boys ; which was to be the ſchool catechiſm ; with many other good eſſays, both in poetry and proſe, towards directing and ſecuring the principles and morals of his ſcholars ;

lars ; and Erasmus dedicated to him his two books *de copia verborum ac rerum*, to form the style, and help the invention of young scholars, commends his piety and judgment in consulting and promoting the good of his country. “ In both these respects, says Erasmus, who would not love and admire that generous greatness of mind in you, that you paid both these regards to your country in such a sincere and disinterested manner, that by so many elaborate sermons, in so long a course of years, you are not one farthing the richer ; and though you sowed your spiritual things in such plenty, you reaped no bodily things : and though the expences of your school were such an immense burthen, that it might well have affrighted any noble peer ; yet you took it all upon yourself. When the common sort of mankind are well pleased to admit of any assistance in such cases, you chose to spend your patrimony, your whole revenue, your very furniture and household goods, rather than admit any person to be a partner in the glory of your ample foundation. You become poor, to make them rich ; naked, to cloath and adorn them. By your great labours, you almost destroy yourself, to make them grow in Christ : you spend yourself, to gain them salvation.”

Erasmus observes, that Colet had a proverbial saying, “ We are all such as our conversation is, and come habitually to practise what we frequently hear.” He has preserved
this.

this apothegm in his elaborate collection of adages, and has given it the preference to any of the sentences of the antient philosophers. Colet rewarded Erasmus for all his services, and allowed him a yearly pension ; he studied how to promote his interest, and recommended him to the patronage of Sir Henry Guilford, who was a rising favourite at court. Colet was also instrumental in keeping up the correspondence between Henry VIII. and Erasmus, and prevailed on his majesty to send him a liberal present, with a strong invitation to come once more into England.

It is observed by Burnet, that though Colet alwas preached in Latin, he never made use of notes ; and a very remarkable sermon of his is quoted, which he preached in this manner, upon the opening of a convocation in the province of Canterbury, the text was, " Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed in the renewing of your minds," which was so full of reformation principles, that Burnet was in some doubt, whether he should not make it a preface to his history. In this sermon Colet, according to his own translation of it, said, " We wyshe ye wold mynd the reformation of the churches matter. For it was never more nede. And the state of the church dyd never desyre more youre endevurs : therefore, with all your mynd, thynke upon the reformation of the churche." He shewed, that the being conformed to this world, is to follow its four evils, pride, lusts, avarice,

avarice, and secular business ; all which reigned in the church and priests. As to the other part, he said, “ Be we reformed to mekenes, to sobernes, to charity, to spiritual occupation: therefore, let those laws be reherfed that restryne vice, and furdur virtue.” He fully exposed the vices of the clergy, and had the boldness to tell them, that “ prelates are chosen often times more by favour of men, than by the grace of God : therefore, truly have we nat a few tymes bishops full litell spiritual men, rather worldly than heavenly, favouring more the spirite of this worlde, than the spirite of Christe.” He expatiated upon the pomp and vanity of the dignified clergy, and said, “ At the last lette be renewed those lawes and constitutions of fathers of celebration of counsels, that commaunde prouincial counsells to be oftener used for the reformation of the church : for there never hapeneth nothyn more hurteful to the church of Christe, than the lack both of counsell generall and prouinciall.” He exhorted the bishops to set a good example to the inferior clergy, and observed, that “ the clergies and spirituals part ones reformed in the church, than may we with a iuste ordre procede to the reformation of the lays part ; the whiche truely wyll be very easy to do, if we fyrst be reformed ; for the bodye followeth the soule. Our goodnes shall compel them into the right way, truly more effectuously, than all your suspendynges and curfynge.” He concluded with a decent apology ;
yet

yet admonished them to reform, and freely said, “ Truly ye are gathered often tymes together (but by your favoure to speke the trouth) yet I see nat what frute cometh of your asssemblyng, namely to the churche.”

As a proof of Henry the Eighth's moderation, we are told, that when he was preparing for war against France, doctor Colet was appointed to preach before him at court, which he did, and in general terms inveighed so strongly against the impiety of going to war, that it was thought the preacher would have been sent to prison, or perhaps more severely censured. But the king sent for Colet, and was at so much pains to convince him of the necessity of the war he was entering upon, that the dean, in a second sermon upon the same subject, preached up the lawfulness, the piety, and expediency of war for the service of our country. This sermon pleased the king so much, that he gave the dean thanks, and, ever after, his countenance; saying to his nobles, who attended him, “ Well, let every one chuse his own doctor, but this shall be mine.” His majesty then took a glass of wine, and drank very graciously to the preacher's health, whom he dismissed with all the marks of affection, and promised him any favour he should ask for himself or friends.

Besides his dignities and preferments, already mentioned, doctor Colet was also rector of the fraternity or gild of Jesus in St. Paul's

church, for which he procured new statutes, and also chaplain and preacher in ordinary to king Henry VIII. and, if Erasmus is not mistaken, one of his privy council. When he came to about the fiftieth year of his age, he grew so weary of the world, that he fully designed to sequester himself in some monastery, and there pass the remainder of his days in peace and solitude : but the objections he had to the conduct of those establishments were invincible ; wherefore, he built a convenient and handsome house, within the precinct of the Charter-house, near Richmond palace in Surry, where he intended to retire in his old age, when broken with infirmities, and unable to discharge the duties of his function. But death prevented him ; for having been seized by that dreadful and epidemical disease called the sweating sickness, at two several times before, he relapsed into it a third, which threw him into a consumption, and carried him off on the 16th of September, 1519, in the fifty-third year of his age. One of his physicians judged his disease to be the dropfy ; but no extraordinary symptoms appeared upon opening the body, only that the capillary vessels of the liver had some pustulary eruptions. His corpse was carried from Sheen to London, and, by the care of his old decrepit mother, it was buried in the cathedral church of St. Paul's, with an humble monument, and only this inscription, designed by himself, Jo. Coletus.

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However, the company of mercers, being willing to shew how much they valued him, erected another to his memory with his effigies; but that being destroyed in the great fire, all that now remains is the description which Sir William Dugdale gives us of it in his history of St. Paul's cathedral.

The loss of this excellent man was greatly lamented by all the learned men in Europe, and particularly by Erasmus, who speaks of him in this manner to Lupset: "O true divine! O pure preacher of the gospel of Christ! with what labour and pleasure did he imbibe the principles of the right Christian philosophy! How sweetly did he suck in the doctrines, and the very spirit of St. Paul! How did he fully answer what he taught, by what he lived!" He expressed his sorrow to bishop Fisher in a most affecting manner, and says, "I write now in tears for the decease of dean Colet: I know his state is happy but, in the name of the world, I must deplore the loss of such an admirable example of Christian piety, such an excellent preacher of the gospel of Christ: and even, in my own name, I must lament the loss of a constant friend, and incomparable patron." He drew up the life of Colet, to which he prefixed that of John Vitrier, for the use of Jodocus Jonas, rector of the university of Erfurd, to whom he says, "Now, in my opinion, you should make no scruple of inserting those two good Christians into the catalogue of saints, though they were

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not

not canonized by the pope. Happy souls! to whom I am so much beholden, assist with your prayers poor Erasmus, yet struggling in this lower world; that he may be brought into your blest society above, never more to be separated."

As for the things that he wrote, they are many: but being found in his study after his death, few understood them, because written only for his own understanding, with intention, if he had been spared, that they should have been all fairly transcribed and published.

His person was very graceful, and there was something in his mien and carriage, which much became him, and every thing he said or did. He is described by Erasmus to be tall and comely; and he was very fair, till his complexion was changed by the sweating sickness and consumption. His learning and piety were certainly above the pitch of the times in which he lived; and it is wonderful, that he met with such great favours from two successive princes, who were none of the mildest in their tempers, as the sufferings of other good men in their reigns sadly testify. From the whole, it amply appears, that dean Colet was a very eminent forerunner of the reformation; and we glory in him as such; as well as for his being founder of that famous seminary of learning, which has produced many excellent persons in church and state.

THE LIFE OF

THOMAS CROMWELL.

THE persians have a fable written by one of their most celebrated poets, in which the pine tree, and the cotton shrub, are brought together, disputing about pre-eminency; the tree claims it on account of its height, and up-right position, and reflects on the cotton shrub, as contemptible, on account of its diminutiveness; but the shrub gets the better in the argument, in consideration of its valuable fruit; thereby conveying this moral, that men are not to be esteemed according to their birth, or appearance, but according to the excellence of their qualities; and as, in the former of these lights, the memorable person we are about to treat of, will be held among the meanest; so, in the latter, where actions alone are considered, he will undoubtedly be rated among the most exalted of our English Worthies.

This man, Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, and one of the principal agents in bringing about the reformation, was no better than the son of a blacksmith, and was born at Putney, in the year 1498, in which place he received all the education he ever had, being taught to read and write at the parish school;

where he also acquired Latin enough to understand his Creed and Pater-noster. It appears, however, that, in his latter days, his father turned brewer; and that, upon his mother's being left a widow, she married a second husband, who was a sheerman in London; but this person's name is no where recorded, neither is there any certainty as to the Christian name of Cromwell's own father.

It cannot be supposed that the child of such parents could have a very considerable inheritance; and, indeed, it is morally certain that our Cromwell derived no thing from his, besides a robust and healthful constitution; however, as he grew up, finding in himself a great propensity to travelling, he went into foreign countries, tho' in what year he left England, or how he was supported abroad, is utterly unknown: but being come to the city of Antwerp, where, as Lloyd tells us, in his lives of the British Worthies, there was at that time a considerable English factory there, who retained Cromwell in capacity of a clerk, or secretary; but that office being too great a confinement and balk to his inclination of seeing the world, he ardently wished for an opportunity to get rid of it; and, very shortly, one offered, which suited with the bent of his inclinations.

There had been, for many years, a famous gild of our Lady, in the church of St. Botolph, at Boston in Lincolnshire, to which several popes had granted very considerable indulgences; and, in those days of ignorance and
super-

superstition, such things were so highly valued by the people in general, that the sisters and brethren of the gild were very anxious to have them renewed by Julius II. who then presided in St. Peter's chair; for which purpose they dispatched two messengers to Rome, with a large sum of Money, to be distributed, by them, as they should find their interest require. Now these taking Antwerp in their route, there became acquainted with Mr. Cromwell; and, perceiving he was much better qualified to obtain what they desired from the court of Rome, than they were themselves, they prevailed on him to accompany them thither. The consequence of this union was very favourable. Cromwell coming with them to the Apostolic seat, immediately set about enquiring into the character of the reigning sovereign; and finding that he was a very great epicure, he determined to avail himself of that foible, in order to procure the grant which his companions sought for; accordingly, having caused some very curious jellies to be made, after the English fashion, then unknown in Italy, he presented them to his holiness; and the liquorish old pontiff was so well pleased with the gift, that he never made any hesitation, but granted the English commissaries whatever indulgences they required.

After this transaction, the account of Cromwell's conduct in Italy are very imperfect; we only know, that, during his stay in that country, he served under the famous duke of Bourbon,

bon, being present at the sack of Rome; and that he helped John Ruffel, Esq; afterwards Sir John, and Earl of Bedford, to make his escape from Bologna, when he was in danger of being betrayed there into the hands of the French, while he was transacting a secret commission for his master, king Henry VIII. and by this good office he acquired a friend who was of great service to him on his return to England. It is said that Cromwell, in his journey to and from Rome, gave a wonderful instance of his extraordinary application and memory, by learning a new translation of the Testament, just then published, under the direction of Erasmus, by heart. But there is an instance of his gratitude, which, though it happened some years after, we may not omit to mention in this place, as it will throw a great light upon his circumstances, while he travelled, or rather wandered, up and down upon the continent.

After the defeat of the French army at Castiglioni in Italy, Cromwell was reduced to the utmost poverty and distress, having neither meat, friends, money, nor wherewith to cover himself, in which deplorable condition he arrived at the city of Florence; here there resided one Freicobald, a very rich and eminent merchant, who meeting Cromwell one day by chance, saw he was a foreigner, and in distress; he enquired into his circumstances; found he was an ingenious and deserving man, and was so wrought upon by compassion for the

the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, and a generous regard for merit, that he not only equipped Cromwell with cloaths, but made him a present of a horse, and sixteen ducats in gold, to defray his expences into his own country. Frescobald, being afterwards reduced to poverty, came over to England, where he had considerable dealings, in order to recover the sum of one thousand five hundred ducats, which were due to him from several persons. The lord Cromwell finding him out, assisted him in the recovery of his due, and not only repaid him the sixteen ducats above-mentioned, but gave him sixteen hundred more, to make up his former losses.

Thus, we see, by whatever means our adventurer contrived to get abroad, he was but very little the better for it, with regard to his immediate circumstances; yet may it be truly said, that Cromwell, in his travels, laid the foundation of that fortune which he subsequently enjoyed; for being a man of great diligence, and naturally inclined to the business of state, he took care to inform himself of the several laws, customs, and governments of the nations he associated with, and acquired so perfect a knowledge of the German, French, and Italian languages, that, when he came back into England, he could speak them fluently, and write them with correctness: these valuable accomplishments soon recommended him to the notice of Cardinal
 .Wolsey;

Wolsey; and we find Cromwell was in that minister's service in 1522, who, on account of his great abilities, and equal industry, made him his solicitor, and frequently employed him in affairs of the utmost delicacy and importance. Cromwell, in particular, was the Cardinal's principal instrument in founding the two colleges at Oxford and Ipswich; as he was, also, in suppressing the small monasteries which Henry VIII. allotted for the compleating and endowing those seminaries.

But nothing does so great an honour to the memory of Cromwell, as his fidelity and gratitude to his master Wolsey, when that minister fell into disgrace, to whom he never failed in the smallest circumstance of affection and respect, but got into parliament (in those days a thing not very difficult) purposely to defend his cause against his enemies; and he did it with so much strength of reason and eloquence, that no treason could be laid to the Cardinal's charge: by this means, indeed, Cromwell derived great advantages to himself; for Henry, ever on the watch for able people to serve him, without considering what they might be in other particulars, took notice of a servant who could so boldly and successfully assert the cause of his degraded master; and upon the dissolution of the Cardinal's household, took Cromwell into his own service, though not without the additional recommendation of Sir Christopher Hales, Master of the Rolls, and Sir John Russel, already mentioned,

tioned, who had represented him as the fittest person to manage the disputes which then subsisted between the king of England and the pope of Rome.

It was in vain for several hot-headed zealots to bellow out, at this time, that Cromwell was a sacrilegious person, and deserved to suffer the law for having been accessory to the demolition of the religious houses, rather than be advanced to the favour of his prince; but he was already fixed in Henry's good graces; and he liked him not the worse, perhaps, for continually supplicating him in favour of cardinal Wolsey. But what rendered him still more acceptable to the king, was a piece of intelligence which Cromwell gave him, that he had never, till then, been acquainted with: the new favourite told his majesty, that his authority was abused within his own realm, by the pope and his clergy, who being sworn to him, were afterwards dispensed from their oath, and sworn anew to the Bishop of Rome; so that he was but half their king, and they but half his subjects; which, as Cromwell justly observed, was derogatory to his crown, and altogether prejudicial to the common laws of his kingdom; declaring, withal, that his majesty might accumulate to himself great riches, nay, as much as all the clergy in England were worth, if he pleased to take the occasion which now offered. This was a proposal the king readily listened to, and, approving entirely of his advice, he asked Cromwell if he could confirm

confirm what he said; who answered, he could, to a certainty; and thereupon shewed his majesty the oath which the prelates took to the head of the church at their consecration; wherein they swore to help retain and defend, against all men, the popedom of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the regalities of St. Peter, &c.

Consider Henry's avarice, and the aversion he now entertained against the Romish clergy, and it will be easy to conceive how agreeable such a discovery must have been to him; he embraced Cromwell, as a mark of the highest confidence; and taking his signet from his finger, he immediately sent him with it to the convocation, which was then sitting; here Cromwell being come, as a messenger from the king, silence was commanded; and, placing himself among the bishops, he began to declare to them, "The authority of a sovereign, and the duty of subjects, and especially the obedience of bishops and churchmen under public laws; which laws, notwithstanding, they had all transgressed, and highly offended, in derogation of the king's royal estate, falling in the law of premunire; in that they had not only consented to the power legatine of cardinal Wolfey, but also, because they had sworn to the pope, contrary to the fealty of their sovereign lord the king; and, therefore, had forfeited to the crown all their goods, chattels, lands, possessions, and whatsoever livings they had." The bishops, hearing this,

this, were not a little frightened and astonished, and at first attempted to excuse themselves, and deny the fact: but, after Cromwell had shewn them the very copy of the oath they took to the pope at their consecration, the matter was so plain, they could say no more against it: so, to be quit of the premunire by act of parliament, the two provinces of Canterbury and York were forced to make the king a present of one hundred eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds.

Now Cromwell's fortunate star began to shine forth. In the year 1531 he was knighted, made master of the jewel office, with a salary of fifty pounds a year, and sworn into the privy council. The next year he was made clerk of the hanaper, a very honourable as well as lucrative employment, in the court of chancery; and, before the end of the same year, he was constituted Chancellor of the Exchequer; as also, in 1534, master of the rolls, and principal secretary of state. About this time he was chosen chancellor of the university of Cambridge: soon after he was elected, there followed a general visitation of the university; at which the several halls, houses, and colleges delivered up their charters, and other instruments, to Sir Thomas Cromwell. The year before he levied the fines upon those who, having forty pounds a year estate, refused to take the order of knighthood.

But Henry, who was as profuse in conferring his favours, as he was implacable in his

resentments, did not think all this sufficient to distinguish the man he condescended to honour with his friendship. In the year 1535, a commission passed the great seal by his Majesty's command, appointing Cromwell visitor-general of the monastries which were to be suppressed throughout the kingdom: but in the execution of this power Sir Thomas was certainly very blameable; he employed commissioners to act under him, and he not only winked at the injurious proceedings of these people, but encouraged them. When they came to any abbey whose order they found refractory, and not willing to consent to their own dissolution, they first tried them by fair means, with promises of large premiums, and other immunities; but if that failed, they had recourse to threats; nay, it is confidently reported, that, in order to terrify some into a compliance, numbers were suborned, not only to accuse their governors of the most horrid and unnatural crimes, but also to inform against each other. We are told, in particular, that the canons of Leicester were threatened by the commissioners with a charge of adultery, and sodomy, in case they refused to surrender. Doctor Hindon, one of the visitors, told the nuns of Godslow, that (because he found them obstinate) he would dissolve their house, by virtue of the king's authority, in spite of their teeth. The monks of the Charter-house, near London, being somewhat uncomplying, were sent to
Newgate,

Newgate, where they were so inhumanly handled, that some of them died, and several others were brought into the most deplorable circumstances. It is even asserted, that certain agents were employed to seduce the nuns, and then accuse them of incontinency.

There is also another circumstance, which tends greatly to aggravate the unjustifiable conduct of Cromwell upon this occasion: several monasteries gave him large sums, to the end that they might be suffered to enjoy their foundations in peace; but, after he had taken the money, he never minded the condition, but involved them with the rest. The king, however, was very well contented with what Cromwell was doing, and, as a recompence for such good services, he constituted him, on the second of July 1506, Lord privy seal; on the 9th of the same month he was created a baron, by the title of Lord Cromwell of Oakham in Rutlandshire; and six days after he took his seat in the house of Lords.

England had now entirely shaken off the yoke of papal tyranny, and the king, in a late session of parliament, had been acknowledged and confirmed supreme and sole head of the church upon earth. Lord Cromwell, on the 8th of July, had this uncontrollable power delegated to him, as vicar-general, or vice-gerent, under the king. What the design and extent of this commission was, may easily be gathered from the following clause of the act regulating precedence: it is there

set forth, “ That, for the good exercise of the said most royal dignity and office, the supremacy, his highness hath made Thomas lord Cromwell, and lord privy-seal, his vicergerent, for a good and due ministration of justice, to be had in all causes and cases touching the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and for the godly reformation and redress of all heresies and abuses in the said church.”

A speech made in parliament by Cromwell, when possessed of this office, shews with what zeal he promoted the measures of a master, who so ill requited his services. He in this declared, “ That there was nothing which the king so much desired, as a firm union amongst all his subjects, in which he placed his chief security. He knew there were many incendiaries, and much cockle grew up with the wheat. The rashness and licentiousness of some, and the inveterate superstition and stiffness of others, in the ancient conceptions, had raised great dissentions, to the sad regret of all good christians. Some were called papists, and others heretics ; which bitterness of spirit appeared the more strange, since now the holy scriptures, by the king’s great care of his people, were in all their hands, in a language understood by every body. But these were grossly perverted by both sides, who studied rather to justify their passions out of them, than to direct their belief by them. The king leaned neither to the right nor the left hand, neither to the one nor the other party,

party, but set the pure and sincere doctrine of christianity before their eyes; and therefore was now resolved to have this set forth to his subjects, without any corrupt mixtures, and to have such decent ceremonies continued, and the true use of them taught; by which all abuses might be cut off, and disputes about the exposition of the scripture, cease; and so all his subjects might be well instructed in their faith, and directed in the reverent worship of God; and resolved to punish severely all transgressors, of what sort or side soever they were. The king was resolved that Christ, that the gospel of Christ, and the truth, should have the victory: and therefore had appointed some bishops and divines to draw up an exposition of those things that were necessary for the instruction of a Christian man; he had also appointed others to examine what ceremonies should be retained, and what was the true use of them: commanding the judges, and other justices of the peace, and persons commissioned for the execution of the act formerly passed, to proceed against all transgressors, and punish them according to law." And he concluded with a high commendation of the king, "whose due praises," he said, "a man of far greater eloquence than himself was, could not fully set forth."

In this session the rank of the several great offices of state was fixed, and Cromwell, as vice-gerent, had a precedency assigned him over

them all ; it was thought singular that a blacksmith's son, should take place next the royal family, and that a man, possessed of no manner of literature, should be at the head of the church : but the king overlooked both these, and in the convocation held immediately after the breaking up of the parliament, lord Cromwell began to exercise his power to the utmost, in order to destroy popery, and establish a reformation. To this end he caused certain articles which differed in many essential points from the Roman catholic religion ; to be promulged and enjoined by the king's authority : seven sacraments were received in the church of Rome, but the new articles mention only three, namely, baptism, penance, and the eucharist : add to this, that they enjoined all bishops and preachers to instruct the people to believe and maintain all these things, which are comprehended in the canon of the bible, and in the apostles, the nicene, and the athanasian creeds, without mentioning a word of tradition ; and that they should prevent offerings of incense, and kneeling to images, lest the vulgar should be led away by idolatry and superstition. Purgatory was likewise in these articles, declared uncertain by scripture ; and in September following, lord Cromwell enjoined the clergy in general, to preach up the king's supremacy ; and not to employ their eloquence in extolling relics, miracles or pilgrimages, while they ought to exhort their congregations to serve God, and provide for their families : and particular

ticular orders were issued for a bible in Latin and English, to be laid in the churches for every one to read at their pleasure, and to be provided at the expence of the minister and the parishioners.

These innovations in religion which were begun by his means, unavoidably occasioned many opposers to the new minister, and together with the dissolution of the monastries, and his demanding at the same time, subsidies for the king, both from the clergy and laity, were the cause of very great murmurs against him, nay, a rebellion breaking out about this time in yorkshire, the insurgents demanded among other things, that the lord Cromwell should be brought to condign punishment, as one of the subverters of the good laws of the realm, before they would lay down their arms. But the popular clamour was so far from alienating the affection of the king from him, that in the year 1537, as a farther token of his esteem, his majesty constituted him chief justice itinerant of all the forests beyond Trent, and on the 26th of August, the same year, he was elected knight of the garter, as also dean of the cathedral church of Wells. In 1539 following, he obtained a grant of the castle and lordship of Okeham, in the county of Rutland, and was made constable of Cardbrook castle, in the Isle of Wight; and as he had been so instrumental in promoting a reformation, and pulling down the monastries for three years together, the king amply rewarded him

him for that service, with many noble manors and large estates, that were formerly the property of those dissolved houses: advancing him in the month of April following, to the dignity of earl of Essex, and lord high chamberlain of England.

But Cromwell's aspiring to, or even accepting of these great honours, drew upon him an additional weight of envy and ill will; for there were then alive several branches of the noble family of Bouchier, last earl of Essex, who broke his neck by a fall from a young and unruly horse; and these might justly think that they were entitled to the dignity of earl of Essex. The office of lord high chamberlain too, had been for many years hereditary in the ancient and honourable family of the de Veres, earls of Oxford, so that upon the death of John de Vere, earl of Oxford, lord chamberlain, the heirs of it could not but be highly incensed against a person so meanly descended, for robbing them of what their ancestors had so long enjoyed. Add likewise, that on the same day that lord Cromwell was created earl of Essex, Gregory his son, was by his interest, made baron Cromwell of Okeham; he being on the 12th of March, 1540, put in commission with others, to sell the Abby lands at twenty years purchase, which was a thing he advised the king to do, as the surest way to stop the clamours of the people, to conciliate their affection, and to bring them

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to a liking of the dissolution of the monasteries.

Lord Cromwell's prosperity had been hitherto uninterrupted, and he had from a low condition, risen gradually to the very highest pitch of honour : but such is the uncertainty of human events, that his ruin was occasioned by an unhappy precaution he took to secure his greatness, and the greater his exaltation was, the more sudden and dangerous his fall. In the year 1539, king Henry having lately lost his wife, Jane Seymour in child-bed, began to turn his thoughts upon a german alliance, and as the Lutheran princes were extremely disgusted against the emperor, on account of the persecution of their religion, he hoped, by matching himself into one of those families, to renew an amity which he regarded as useful to him ; Cromwell joyfully seconded this motion, and perceiving that some of his bitterest enemies, particularly Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, began to be more in favour at court than himself, he exerted his utmost endeavours to bring about a marriage between the king and Anne of Cleves : for he imagined that a queen of his own making, would powerfully support his interest, and as the friends of Anne of Cleves were all protestants, contribute greatly to bring down the popish party. But when Henry came to see this lady, in whom he had been deceived by a flattering picture, he declared she was a great Flanders mare, and he could never bear her

her any affection. He married her however, which Cromwell thought would be the means of bringing about a better liking, but when he came, full of anxious expectation the morning after the nuptials to enquire how the king found his bride, he had the mortification to be told, that his majesty hated her worse than ever: that he was resolved never to meddle with her, and even suspected her to be no maid; however, Henry continued to be civil to Anne, and even seemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwell, but though he exerted this command over his temper, a discontent lay lurking in his breast, and was ready to burst out on the first opportunity: nor was it a great while ere such a one offered as enabled him at once to gratify his resentment, and ingratiate himself with the public.

The meanness of Cromwell's birth had rendered him odious to all the nobility, the Roman catholics detested him, for having been so active in the dissolution of religious houses, the reformers themselves were not very strongly attached to him, as they saw he was not able to defend them from persecution, and the nation in general held him in discontent, for his having been the instrument of the king's extortion. Henry was now as ready to hearken to his accusers, as he was before deaf to them, and finding that several articles were ready to be brought against him, he resolved, at once to gratify his own revenge, and appease the inflamed populace, to give up a man who could
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no longer be of service to him ; and having secretly provided himself with sufficient proof against his minister, in several very important points ; sufficient we mean in those days, when the arbitrary will of the sovereign was law ; he caused Cromwell to be arrested at the council table by the duke of Norfolk, who there produced a charge against him for high treason ; and on the the tenth of June, 1540, when he did not in the least suspect it, he was carried away from the palace to the Tower, without knowing his accusers, or the crimes of which he was accused ; yet from his first commitment, he made no doubt of a design being laid against his life, because the duke of Norfolk had always been his professed enemy ; and was uncle to the lady Catherine Howard, for whom the king at that time began to entertain a passion.

During his confinement however, he writ two letters to the king, one to vindicate himself of the crime of treason, and another concerning his marriage with Anne of Cleves. In the first he expressed himself to this purpose, “ That I never, in all my life, thought willingly to do that thing that might, or should displease your majesty, and much less do or say any thing, which of itself is so high and abominable an offence ; as God knoweth, who, I doubt not, shall reveal the truth to your highness. Mine accusers, your grace knoweth, God forgive them : for ~~as~~ I ever had love to your honour, person, life, prosperity,

rity, health, wealth, joy, and comfort; and also, your most dear and entirely beloved son, the prince his grace, and your proceedings: God so help me in this mine adversity, and confound me if ever I thought the contrary. What labours, pains, and travels I have undergone, according to my most bounden duty, God also knoweth; for, if it were in my power, as it is in God's, to make your majesty to live, ever young and prosperous, Christ knoweth I would; for so am I, of all others, most bound: for your majesty hath been the most bountiful prince to me, that ever was king to his subject: yea, and more like a dear father, your majesty not offended, than a master.

Such hath been your most grave and godly counsel towards me at sundry times. In that I have offended I ask your mercy. Should I now, for such exceeding goodness, benignity, liberality, and bounty be your traitor, nay then, the greatest pains were too little for me. Should any faction, or any affection to any point, make me a traitor to your majesty, then all the devils in hell confound me, and the vengeance of God light upon me, if I should once have thought it, most gracious sovereign lord!

Sir, as to your commonwealth, I have, after my wit, power, and knowledge, travailed therein, having had no respect to persons, your majesty only excepted, and my duty to the same: but that I have done any injustice or wrong wilfully, I trust God shall bear me witness,

ness, and the world not be able to accuse me. Nevertheless, sir, I have meddled in so many matters, under your highness, that I am not able to answer them all. But one thing I am well assured of, that willingly and wittingly I have not had will to offend your highness; but hard it is for me, or any other, meddling as I have done, to live under your grace, or your laws, but we must daily offend."

After this, he proceeds to vindicate himself from some particular charges brought against him; and concludes the whole with these words; "written with the quaking hand, and most sorrowful heart of your most sorrowful subject, and most humble servant and prisoner, this Saturday at your Tower of London."

In the other letter, which he wrote by the king's express commands, that he might declare what he knew of the marriage. Amongst other particulars, he says, That after the king had seen her at Rochester, he told him [Cromwell] that if he had known so much before as he then knew, she should not have come within his realm; saying, in a complaining manner, "what remedy?" And the day after the marriage, his majesty told him, "I liked her before not well, but now I like her much worse, for I have felt her belly and her breasts, and thereby as I can judge, she should be no maid; which struck me so to the heart when I felt them, that I had neither will nor courage to proceed any farther in other matters;

saying, I have left her as good a maid as I found her."

This letter concludes with these words: "Beseeching most humbly your grace to pardon this my rude writing, and to consider that I am a most woeful prisoner, ready to take death, when it shall please God and your majesty; and yet the frail flesh inciteth me continually to call to your grace for mercy and grace to mine offences; and thus, Christ save, preserve, and keep you.

Written at the Tower this Wednesday, the last of June, with the heavy heart, and trembling hand, of your highness's most heavy and most miserable prisoner, and poor slave. T. C. Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy."

But it was not the practice of king Henry to ruin his ministers and favourites by halves; though the unhappy prisoner therefore, wrote upon these occasions, in so moving a manner as even to draw tears from his eyes, he hardened himself against all motions of pity, and refused him pardon, and Cromwell having heretofore, given that abominable precedent of condemning persons unheard, he was now served in the same manner himself. But it is probable indeed, that the court knew, if he was brought to a trial, he would so justify himself, by producing the king's orders and warrants for what he had done, that it would be very difficult to condemn him; and, even as it was, when the bill of attainder was sent down to
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the commons ; it did not pass with the same rapidity as it had done in the upper house, but stuck ten days, till at last, a new one was framed there, and sent up to the house of lords.

“ It is plain to perceive, says Burnet, that most of the articles of his impeachment, related to orders and directions he had given, for which, it is very probable, he had the king’s warrant. And, for the matter of heresy, the king had proceeded so far towards a reformation, that what he did that way was, in all probability, done by the king’s orders : but the king now falling from these things, it was thought they intended to stifle him by such an attainder ; that he might not discover the secret orders or directions he had given him for his own justification. For the particulars of bribery and extortion, with which he was also charged, they being mentioned in general expressions, seem only cast into the heap to defame him. But, for treasonable words which were alledged against him, it was generally thought that they were a contrivance of his enemies ; since it seemed a thing very extravagant, for a favourite in the height of his greatness, to talk so rudely. And, if he had been guilty of it, Bedlam was thought a fitter place for his restraint than the Tower. Nor was it judged likely, that he, having such great and watchful enemies at court, any such discourses should have lain so long secret ; or, if they had come to the king’s knowledge, he was not a

prince of such a temper, as to have forgiven, much less employed, and advanced a man after such discourses. And, to think, that during fifteen months after the words were said to have been spoken, none would have had the zeal for the king, or the malice to Cromwell, to repeat them, were things that could not be believed."

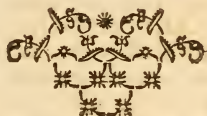
Like other persons in disgrace, poor Cromwell was deserted by most of his pretended friends. Archbishop Cranmer only did not abandon him in his distress, but wrote to the king very warmly in his behalf. In his letter he expressed himself to this purpose, "Who cannot but be sorrowful and amazed, that he should be a traitor against your majesty; he that was so advanced by your majesty; he, whose surety was only by your majesty; he, who loved your majesty (as I ever thought) no less than God; he, who studied always to set forward whatsoever was your majesty's will and pleasure; he that cared for no man's displeasure to serve your majesty; he that was such a servant, in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience, as no prince in this realm ever had; he that was so vigilant to preserve your majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived, but he detected the same in the beginning. If the noble princes of happy memory, king John, Henry II. and Richard II. had had such a counsellor about them, I suppose they
should

should never have been so traiterously abandoned and overthrown as those good princes were. But the duke of Norfolk, and the rest of the popish party, baffled all the application that was made in favour of the earl of Essex, who was, in pursuance of his attainder, brought to a scaffold erected on Tower-hill. Before his execution, he made the following speech. “ I am come hither to die, and not to purge myself, as may happen some think that I will ; for, if I should so do, I were a very wretch and miser. I am by the law condemned to die, and thank my Lord God that hath appointed me this death for mine offence : for, since the time that I had years of discretion, I have lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God ; for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness. And it is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great traveller in this world, and, being but of a base degree, was called to high estate ; and since the time I came thereunto, I have offended my prince, for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness, and beseech you all to pray to God with me that he will forgive me. O Father, forgive me ! O Son, forgive me ! O Holy Ghost, forgive me ! O Three Persons in One God, forgive me. And now I pray you that be here, to bear me record, I die in the catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, no, nor doubting in any sacrament of the church. Many have slandered me, and

reported, that I have been a bearer of such as have maintained evil opinions ; which is untrue : but I confess that, like as God by his holy spirit doth instruct us in the truth, so the devil is ready to seduce us ; and I have been seduced ; but I bear witness, that I die in the catholic faith of the holy church ; and I heartily desire you to pray for the king's grace, that he may long live with you, in health and prosperity ; and, after him, that his son, prince Edward, may long reign over you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I waver nothing in my faith." Having spoken thus, which he seems to have done through the weakness natural to a dying man, or his affection to his son, whom he feared the king would pursue with further vengeance, if he attempted to vindicate himself at his death, he passed a few moments in his devotions, and then was beheaded on the 28th of July, 1540.

In this manner departed Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, who, if we may give credit to the best authorities concerning him, was a person of an uncommon prudence, abilities, and industry. His apprehension was ready, his judgment solid, his memory tenacious, his eloquence fluent, his deportment graceful, his heart generous and grateful, his temper patient, his conversation agreeable, and his friendship well-chosen and constant. But it was the policy of Henry VIII. as an excellent author observes,

observes, to chuse his favourites from amongst the meanest of the people, who being less scrupulous than others, and ready to do every thing that could promote their advancement, yielded a plenary obedience to his commands; and Cromwell, having formerly been the instrument of his tyranny and injustice to destroy others, it seems, in some measure, to have been a deserved judgment, that he should at last suffer by them himself.



THE LIFE OF
CARDINAL BEATOUN.

DAVID BEAUTOUN, archbishop of St. Andrew's, primate of Scotland, and cardinal of the Roman Church, was descended from an honourable family in the north, being, according to Nesbitt's heraldry, the son of John Beatoun, of Balfour, by Isabel his wife, daughter of David Moniepenney, of Pitmilny in the county of Fife, and nephew to James Beatoun, his predecessor in the archbishopric of St. Andrew's. He was born in the year 1494, and it appears, that there was no care omitted to render his education equal to his birth. He passed through the various classes of school learning with rapidity, and having entered the university of St. Andrews, he began to display such a readiness of wit, and withal such an intense application to study, that his relations conceived great hopes of his becoming, one day or other, an honour and support to his family.

But these flattering expectations were entertained by no one with such a degree of warmth, as his uncle, the archbishop, who loved David as his own son : as the best method, therefore, to secure his advancement in life, he sent him over to Paris, where our young Scot commencing a student in one of the colleges, he perfected

perfected himself in the civil and canon law, and applied so diligently to divinity, in order to get qualified for the service of the church, (in those days the surest road to power and great preferments) that he entered into holy orders before he was nineteen years old ; and we find that he had the address, even prior to that event, to recommend himself in so particular a manner to the notice and favour of John, Duke of Albany, then in France, whom the states of Scotland had made regent, during the minority of James V. that he was taken into the service of that nobleman ; and being employed by him in several affairs of the utmost importance, and always discharging the trust reposed in him with the utmost dispatch and fidelity, on the death of his grace's secretary, which happened in 1519, he was appointed in his place, resident at the French court. This preferment abroad was attended with others in his own country ; for about this time, his uncle, then archbishop of Glasgow, bestowed on him the rectory of Campsay, notwithstanding he was but in deacon's orders, as appears by the act of presentation, in which he is stiled no more than clerk of the diocese of St. Andrew's ; so that he was beneficed in the church, and a minister of state, at the age of twenty-five.

Nor did his promotions rest long in this place ; for in the year 1523, his uncle being raised to the archbishopric of St. Andrew's, and commendatorship of Abroath, he resolved

to resign the abbey in favour of his nephew, and for that end he prevailed with the duke regent to write, in the most pressing manner, both in the young king's name and his own, to pope Adrian VI. to dispatch the bulls of his investiture ; and withal to intreat his holiness, that through the fullness of his dispensing power he would permit Mr. Beatoun to delay taking on him what they call the habit, for the space of two years ; which the pope, to gratify the king, acquiesced in. Mr. Beatoun remained in France two years after this, and upon his return to Scotland in 1525, we find him taking his seat in parliament, as abbot of Abroath, those dignitaries sitting there in spiritual right, as our bishops have a place in the national assemblies now : and in the same year he was, by act of parliament, appointed, among other noblemen, to attend upon, and continue in company with, the king, at the same time that the earl of Angus was constituted one of the regents ; from whence one of the authors of the *Biographia Britannica* observes, that he had either wrought himself into some degree of confidence with the family of Douglas, or stood at that time in so great credit with the king, that even this powerful party did not think proper to remove him, though implacable enemies to his uncle the lord primate, which is, no doubt, a very high proof of his eminent abilities.

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After this period, it does not appear, that in any of the subsequent changes of government he was ever under necessity to quit the person of his royal master : on the contrary, he grew into such an extraordinary degree of favour with James, that in 1528, on the resignation of bishop Crichton, he was promoted to the dignity of lord privy seal, in which capacity he assisted the king with his councils, and was considered as the person in whom his majesty most confided : nay, there are just grounds to believe, that it was by his persuasion the king of Scots erected a college of justice in 1530, after the manner that Philip IV. of France had instituted a court of the same kind: He was also intrusted, in the year 1533, with a very important commission, which obliged him to pass into France, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Erskine. This was to conclude an alliance between the two crowns, and a marriage with the daughter to the French king, which marriage, however, did not then take effect, because the princess was at that time in a very bad state of health : but the abbot of Abroath was likewise entrusted with some other secret commission, which obliged him to continue at the French court for some time ; and he gave his master such intelligence from thence, as enabled him to secure his peace with his uncle, Henry VIII. of England, while he was complimented and caressed, in the most extraordinary manner, by
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the emperor and the pope; though those sovereigns were both violent enemies to the British monarch.

It was during the time he was thus employed at the French court, that our abbot laid the foundation of all his greatness; for by his address and understanding, he gained so much on the good graces of king Francis I. that he granted him many, and those too very singular favours, first, by virtue of his prerogative, giving him all the privileges of a native of France, and afterwards conferring upon him a bishopric; marks of esteem not frequently bestowed on strangers, and never by so wise a prince as Francis I. without just cause; whence it has been conjectured, that Beatoun was now admitted into the whole system of French politics, and undertook to make his master coincide with them; so that what Francis I. gave him, was not so much encouragement as reward; and the emperor invading France in 1536, king James, by the advice of his minister, actually came, with the flower of his nobility, to the assistance of the French monarch; being met upon the road by the dauphin, who conducted him to Paris, where he had all the honours paid him that he could desire; and what he seemed to wish most, the princess Magdalen, for whom he had sent two embassies in vain, was given to him in person, whom, with great pomp, he espoused, on the first of January, 1537. But this lady dying in the month of July following, soon after her arrival in Scotland,

land, the abbot of Arbroath, who returned with their majesties into that kingdom, was sent over again to Paris, to negotiate a second marriage for the king, with the lady Mary, daughter to the duke of Guise, and the widow of the duke de Longueville. During his stay, at this time, in the kingdom of France, he was consecrated bishop of Mirepoix; and all things being at length settled, in the month of June 1538, he embarked, with his new mistress, for Scotland, where, after great hazard of being taken by the English, they safely arrived; and, in the month of July, the royal nuptials were celebrated at St. Andrew's, just one year after the demise of the former queen.

Beatoun had now all the power and authority of an archbishop, though he was no more than coadjutor of St. Andrew's; but this being thought an insufficiency of power to answer the ends which he had engaged to promote, he was by pope Paul III. through the recommendation, as some have thought, of the French king, raised to the purple, by the title of St. Stephen in Monto Caelio, his creation taking place on the twentieth day of December 1538. But there is a letter of the cardinal's, on this occasion, to Andrew Oliphant, the Scotch agent at Rome, which shews to a demonstration, that he chiefly owed his dignity to the state of affairs in Scotland at that time, his own capacity, and the king's influence. The pope wanted such a

man as Beatoun in his interest, when great strides were making every day towards demolishing the papal power, both in England and Scotland; and it was with a design of attaching the clergy of the latter kingdom strictly to himself, that he gave them a head, who, for his own sake, would keep them firm to the apostolic see.

Yet it was not many months after this, that the cardinal was in no small danger of losing his master's confidence; for Henry VIII. having good intelligence of the motives which urged the pope to give Beatoun one of the scarlet hats, he sent, about this time, a very able minister to his nephew James, with particular instructions to procure the cardinal's disgrace, though the scheme laid for that purpose had not the desired effect, the Scotch king taking care to elude the English ambassador's instances, by such subtle and evasive answers, as left no room for taking offence, yet sent him back to his master without gaining what he came for; and Beatoun's uncle, the old archbishop, dying, in a few days, the cardinal succeeded in the primacy, whereby he was invested with as great, or greater power than ever any churchman had enjoyed in that kingdom before.

He was no sooner advanced to this exalted station, than he began to discover that warm and persecuting temper, which, during the rest of his life, was his distinguishing characteristic; and being determined to give the
strongest

strongest proof of his attachment to the religion and interests of Rome, he, in May 1540, went to St. Andrew's in such pomp and splendor, as, till that day, no primate of Scotland had ever appeared in; being attended by the first people of the kingdom, both spiritual and temporal, and, in presence of these witnesses, he held, in wonderful state and grandeur, a kind of visitation; in which he told them how the Catholic faith was insulted; that heterodoxy was openly maintained, and too much encouraged, even within the court; particularly he mentioned Sir John Borthwick, who had been cited to St. Andrew's for dispersing heretical books, and holding several opinions contrary to the doctrine of the Roman church; who neither appearing in person, or by proxy, he was condemned for contumacy, on the 28th of May 1540, and his effigies were publicly burnt the same day in the market-place of St. Andrew, and a week after at Edinburgh, and all persons were forbid to relieve or entertain him, on penalty of excommunication; so that Sir John was forced to retire into England, where he was well received by Henry, and honoured with a public character to the Protestant princes in Germany. The cardinal going on to prosecute several others for the same crime, particularly Mr. George Buchanan, the celebrated poet and historian: and they all would certainly have suffered, if they had not made their escape out of prison.

But these proceedings not answering Beaton's purpose to the full, he had recourse to another method, which was, to engage the king to issue a commission for enquiring after heretics, and to place at the head of it Sir James Hamilton, bastard brother to the Earl of Arran, a man of a barbarous and bloody temper, whom the king, till that time, had always hated, for many reasons. But the truth is, the king was filled with the hopes of obtaining large sums of money by the conviction of such as were discovered to be favourers of Luther's doctrine: and in support of this scheme a roll was actually made, containing the names of 360 of the chief nobility, who were suspected, and might be prosecuted. But while Sir Jams Hamilton, the grand inquisitor in this dreadful office, was busy in accusing others for heresy, he was himself accused, convicted, and afterwards executed for high treason; though James, having left all his subjects absolutely to the cardinal's mercy, there is no knowing what lengths he still might have gone, had not providence prevented the perpetration of his bloody designs, by the death of that monarch; who having, at his minister's instigation, directed his troops to invade England, they were at Solway Moss engaged and discomfited; which dismal overthrow had such an effect upon him, that, in the end, it broke his heart.

The situation in which the king's death left the nation, alarmed all ranks of men. A war
against

against England had been undertaken, without necessity, and carried on without success; many persons of the first distinction had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and, among the rest of the nobles, there was little union, either in their views or their affections: add, too, that the religious disputes, occasioned by the opinions of the reformers, growing every day more violent, gave new rage to those factions which are natural to a form of government nearly Aristocratical. The government of an infant queen was still more destitute of real authority; and James had not provided even a common remedy against the disorders of a minority, by committing to proper persons the care of his daughter's education, and the administration of affairs in her name; so that, in mere despair, he abandoned them both to the mercy of fortune, and left open to every pretender the office of regent; which he could not fix to his own satisfaction.

Cardinal Beatoun, who had for many years been considered as prime minister, was the first that claimed that high dignity; and, in support of his pretensions, he produced a testament which he himself had forged in the name of the late king; and, without any other right, instantly assumed the title of regent. He hoped, by the assistance of the clergy, the countenance of France, the connivance of the queen dowager, and the support of the whole popish faction, to hold by force, what he had seized on by fraud. But

Beatoun had enjoyed power too long to be a favourite of the nation : those among the nobles who wished for a reformation in religion dreaded his severity ; and others considered the elevation of a churchman to the highest office of the kingdom, as a depression of themselves ; at their instigation, therefore, James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, and next heir to the queen, roused himself from his inactivity, and was prevailed on to aspire to the regency ; to which, proximity of blood, and former practice in like cases, gave him an undoubted title. The nobles, who were assembled for this purpose, unanimously conferred on him the supreme office ; and the public voice applauded their choice.

No two men ever differed more widely in disposition and character, than the earl of Arran and cardinal Beatoun. The cardinal was by nature of immoderate ambition ; by long experience he had acquired address and refinement ; and insolence grew upon him from continual success. His high station in the church placed him in the way of great employments ; his abilities were equal to the greatest of these ; nor did he reckon any of them to be above his merit. As his own eminence was founded upon the power of the church of Rome, he was a zealous defender of that superstition, and, for the same reason, an avowed enemy to the doctrine of the reformers : political motives, alone, determined him to support the one, or to oppose the

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the other. His early application to public business kept him unacquainted with the learning and controversies of the age; he gave judgement, however, upon all points in dispute, with a precipitancy, violence, and rigour, which cotemporary historians mention with indignation. The character of the earl Arran was, in almost every thing, the reverse of this. He was neither infected with ambition, nor inclined to cruelty: the love of ease extinguished the former; the softness of his temper preserved him from the latter. Timidity and irresolution were his predominant failings; the one occasioned by his natural constitution, and the other arising from a consciousness that his abilities were not equal to his station. With these dispositions he might have enjoyed and adorned private life; but his public conduct was without courage, or dignity, or consistence; the perpetual slave of his own fears, and, by consequence, the perpetual tool of those who found their advantage in practising upon them. But as no other person could be set in opposition to the cardinal, with any probability of success, the nation declared in his favour with so general a consent, that the artifices of his rival could not withstand its united strength.

This was in the year 1542, the celebrated Mary Queen of Scots being then but a few days old; and, before the close of the same year, the earl of Arran was firmly settled in the regency, to the utter exclusion of the cardinal;

dinal ; which was brought about, chiefly, by the Lords who were in the English interest, and desirous of complying with a proposal made by Henry VIII. for a marriage between Edward, his only son, and the infant queen : this proposal, indeed, was also relished by all who feared the cardinal or favoured the change of religion ; for they were fond of an alliance which afforded protection to the doctrine they had embraced, as well as to their own persons, against the power of a Roman Catholic prelate. But Henry's rough and overbearing temper rendered this scheme abortive. He had at once alarmed and irritated the whole Scottish nation, by demanding that the queen's person should immediately be committed to his custody ; and that the government of the kingdom should be put in his hands during her minority. What people would not scorn to purchase an alliance, however great, at the price of their liberty ? The parliament of Scotland, notwithstanding, influenced by some of their nobles, seemed very studious of a peace with the English king ; and Cardinal Beaton being the only obstruction to the measures leading to it, he was, by order of the regent, seized, and sent prisoner to the castle of Blackness, after the English ambassadors had failed, in a daring attempt to carry off both the young queen, and him as a prize to their impatient master.

But things remained not long in this situation ; the cardinal, though under restraint, found

found means to attach so strong a party to his interest, and, what was still more extraordinary, had gained so many of the people about the regent, that, not knowing how to secure himself, that nobleman was forced to set him at liberty. an event, no doubt, which is very expressive of Beatoun's genius and character; who knew how to court and manage factions so well, that, from being excluded the court, and imprisoned, he, upon the young Queen's coronation, was again admitted of the council, and, at the request as well as by the consent of the regent, assumed the high office of chancellor, out of which the archbishop of Glasgow was turned, to make way for him.

After this the cardinal proceeded to give new proves of his art and address. The treaty which had been signed with Henry, during his confinement at Blackness, though on a more equitable footing, than at first proposed, was still manifestly to the advantage of England: he complained loudly upon this account, he said "that the regent had betrayed the nation to its most inveterate enemies, and sacrificed its honour to his own ambition. He foretold the extinction of the true catholic religion, under the tyrannical usurpation of an excommunicated heretic; but above all, he lamented to see an ancient kingdom, consenting to its own slavery; and in one hour, the weakness or treachery of a single man, surrendering every thing, for which the Scots had struggled through so many ages." The
rage

rage of the people rose to such a height upon these remonstrances, that the English ministers could hardly be protected from their insults. The clergy contributed a great sum towards preserving the church from the dominion of a prince, whose system of reformation was so fatal to their power; and the nobles, after having mortified the cardinal so lately in such a cruel manner, were now ready to applaud and to second him, as the defender of the honour and liberty of his country.

Fired by these encouragements, his ambition and zeal grew equally intemperate; he immediately seized on the persons of the young queen and her mother, and added to his party the splendor and authority of the royal name. But about the same time he received a more real accession to his strength, by the arrival of Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox, whose return from France he had earnestly solicited. This young nobleman was hereditary enemy of the house of Hamilton, he had many claims upon the regent, and pretended a right to exclude him, not only from succeeding to the crown, but to deprive him of the possession of his private fortune. The cardinal flattered his vanity with the prospect of marrying the queen dowager, and affected to treat him with so much studied respect, that the regent became jealous of him as a rival in power.

Mean while the day appointed for the ratification of the treaty with England approached; and the regent was quite undetermined

how

how to proceed, and acted to the last with that irresolution and inconsistency, which is peculiar to weak men, when they are so unfortunate as to have the chief part in the conduct of difficult affairs. On the 25th of August, he ratified the treaty with Henry, and proclaimed the cardinal, who still continued to oppose it, an enemy to his country : but on the 3d of September, he secretly withdrew from Edinburgh, met with the cardinal at Callender, renounced the friendship of England, and declared for the interests of France. Beatoun's interest was from this moment so great with the earl of Orran, and so well established, that he might be said to have as much influence over him as he had over the king, which manifestly appeared by procuring him to solicit the court of Rome to extend his already almost boundless authority, by appointing him legate a latere from the pope.

The first instance after his entrance upon this new office, which the cardinal gave of his devotion to the see of Rome, was to work so upon the regent, as to make him publicly, abjure the doctrine of the reformers, and declare for the old faith ; this being accomplished, he set about working the hereticks. But he had address enough to procure such numbers of persons of high rank and distinction to be present at, and to attend him in his judicatories, that, instead of appearing an act of his own, or the effect of his intrigues, it looked rather

rather as a thing imposed upon him, and in which he acted with the approbation of the nobility and gentry, as well as clergy of the kingdom. Such was the wonderful dexterity of this man, and such the zeal with which, to the very utmost of his power, he promoted the cause of popery. With a view to serve this cause still more effectually, he summoned, in the beginning of 1546, a provincial assembly of the clergy, at the Black Friars in Edinburgh; and he proposed atchieving vast matters at this meeting, which he opened with a speech, wherein he shewed, that religion was in great danger from the prevailing of heresy, for which he said he knew but two remedies, the first to proceed vigorously against such as either adhered to, or encouraged the new opinions; the other was to reform the scandalous and immoral lives of the clergy, which gave the greatest pretence for men to separate from the church; but the cardinal was soon diverted from the purposes he had then in hand, by an information he received, that Mr. George Wishart, the most famous protestant preacher in Scotland, was at the same time actually in the house of Mr. Cockburn, of Ormiston, in East Lothian. He directly applied to the governor, to cause Wishart to be apprehended, and having, with much difficulty prevailed, his eminency went in person, with the earl of Bothwell, who was sheriff of the county, to see the culprit apprehended: but not satisfied with this, the cardinal was determined to proceed

ceed to extremities. He procured an act of council, therefore requiring the earl of Bothwell to deliver his prisoner to the lord governor: pursuant to which, Wishart was first carried to the house of Elphinston, where the cardinal then was; from thence to the castle of Edinburgh, and by the queen dowager's persuasion, the governor caused him to be transferred to the castle of St. Andrew's: this was all Beatoun desired, and as soon as he had got the unfortunate man into his power, tryal was the word, and condemn him to the stake. But because he would keep up some shew of justice, he summoned the prelates to meet on the twenty seventh of February following, which they accordingly did: but the archbishop of Glasgow very wisely proposed an application to the governor for a commission to some man of quality, to try so famous a prisoner, that the whole blame might not fall upon the clergy, to which the cardinal agreed, and the governor at first made no great scruple of the thing; however, Mr Hamilton of Preston, having some conversation with him before the signing of the warrant, in which he shewed him the folly of taking the thorn out of another man's foot, to thrust it into his own, in the end, his lordship sent the cardinal word "That he would do well not to precipitate Wishart's tryal, but delay it until his coming, for as to himself, he would not consent to his death before the cause was very well examined, and if his eminency should

do otherwise, he would make protestation, that the blood of the man should be required at his hands."

When the cardinal received this message, he was equally angry and perplexed; yet resolved to go on with the business; he sent this return to the governor, "That he had not wrote to him about this matter, as supposing himself to be any way dependant upon his authority, but from a desire that the persecution and conviction of heretics, might have a show of public consent, which, since he could not this way obtain, he would proceed in that way, which, to him appeared most proper." And in pursuance of this declaration, he indicted Mr. Wishart upon eighteen articles, notwithstanding his appeal, as being the governor's prisoner, to a temporal judicatory; and having tryed and condemned him, caused him to be burnt at St. Andrew's, on the second of March: forbidding all persons to pray for him, under pain of incurring the severest censures of the church. As for Wishart, he died with great firmness, constancy, and Christian courage, and was held as a saint and martyr by all those of the reformed persuasion.

We may easily imagine that the boldness of this proceeding made a great noise throughout the kingdom; such as were zealous papists, magnified the spirit and steadiness of the cardinal; others of more moderation, censured it as a rash and very imprudent action, which
could

could not but be attended with very dismal consequences; and the friends to the protestant cause openly declared, that as it was done without due course of law, it ought to be considered as a murder, which, if unquestioned by the state, private men might revenge. As for the cardinal, he did not seem to be highly concerned at the rumours which his conduct in this matter had raised; he was so much persuaded in himself of his great interest among the nobility, that he did not apprehend any sort of danger from the governor's displeasure; and, on the other hand, he thought, that having embarked the whole clergy of Scotland in the same cause with himself, he was sure of all the interest they had among the people. There is a circumstance mentioned by several historians, which very plainly proves, that the cardinal was, at the time we now mention, at the height of his fortune and wishes; and that he was intent upon nothing but the means of adding to, and securing the same prosperity for the future. For it appears that he went, soon after the death of Mr. Wishart, to Finhaven, the seat of the earl of Crawford, to solemnize a marriage between the eldest son of that nobleman, and his own natural daughter, Margaret, which was performed in great pomp and splendor. This fact is the clearest proof that the cardinal had no dread or terror upon his mind, but thought his condition as secure, if not more so, than ever; and it likewise proves, that he stood in very

high credit with the greatest men in the kingdom, when he was able to ally himself by his illegitimate issue, to one of the most ancient and honourable families in Scotland.

But while he was thus employed, and in the midst of his rejoicing, he had intelligence that an English Squadron was upon the coast, and, that consequently an invasion was to be feared; upon this he immediately returned to St. Andrew's, and appointed a day for the nobility and gentry of that country, which is very open, and exposed to the sea, to meet and consult about the proper means of raising such a force as might be sufficient to secure them from any attempts of an enemy. He began likewise to strengthen the fortifications of his own castle at that city, into which he was at any time able to put a garrison sufficient to defend it. But the time of meeting not being come, and no farther news being heard of the English fleet, he was more intent upon rendering the castle tenable against a foreign force, than solicitous about assembling such a number of men, or taking such other precautions, as might secure him from being surprised by his foes at home, of which, he does not seem to have entertained the smallest suspicion, yet, when he least apprehended the stroke, the thunder was most ready to burst upon him.

While he was busy about the matters above related, there came to him the eldest son of the earl of Rothes, Mr. Norman Lesley, a gentleman

gentleman with whom he had a very intimate friendship, the design of his visit was to ask some favour, which he might expect to have granted: but the cardinal absolutely refused him, and provoked him thereby to such a degree, that they parted in great displeasure. Now it happened that this gentleman's uncle, Mr. John Lesley, was one of the most violent enemies the cardinal had, as soon as he heard therefore of the ill usage his nephew had received; he knowing his passionate temper, and daring spirit, repaired to him immediately; aggravated the injury done him by the cardinal, and brought with him several other persons, who thought themselves wrong'd by that prelate; and in the end it was agreed among them that the cardinal should be suddenly cut off.

There were but very few concerned in this conspiracy, and of them the principal persons were, Norman Lesley, John Lesley, William Kircaldy of Grange, Peter Carmichael of Fife, and James Melvil. The scheme they laid, was to meet at St. Andrew's with as much privacy as possible, and to surprize the castle in a morning before the cardinal's servants were stirring, and they entered into an agreement under their hands, to be at that city on the twenty-eighth of May, and to behave in the mean time in such a manner, as to afford no room for suspicion. Accordingly at the time agreed on, Norman Lesley came, with no more than five persons, and went to

the place where he usually lodged : William Kircaldy was there a day before ; but John Lesley because he was known to be the cardinal's avowed enemy, did not come till it was almost dark.

On Saturday morning, the twenty-ninth of May, they met in the abbey church-yard about three o'clock, being no more than twelve in all. There they agreed, that Kircaldy should take six persons with him, and secure the gate, that the rest might enter, which he accordingly did, entertaining the porter with some discourse, about the time when the cardinal would be stirring, and might be spoke with. Then came Norman Lesley, and two more, and lastly John Lesley, with the other two, upon the sight of whom, the porter made towards the draw-bridge, but they seized him, took the keys from him, and secured the gate.

The next thing they did, was to send four persons to watch the cardinal's chamber, that he might have no notice given him of what was doing ; they afterwards went and called up the servants, to whom they were very well known, and turned them, to the number of fifty, out at the gate, as they did above an hundred workmen employed in repairing the castle ; but the eldest son of the regent, who was with the cardinal, they kept for their own security ; all this being executed with so little noise that Beaton never awoke. At length, however, they came and knocked at
his

his chamber door; upon which, starting from his sleep, he cried out, "Who's there?" to which John Lesley made answer, "My name is Lesley;" "Which Lesley?" replied the cardinal, "Is it Norman?" "No matter," said John Lesley, "you must open the door to those who are here." However, instead of doing this, the cardinal instantly rose and began to barricade the door in the best manner he could; then the conspirators called for fire; but, while it was fetching, Beatoun having conferred with them, upon a promise being made him that no violence should be offered towards his person, he opened the door, when the whole party rushing upon him with their naked swords, put an end to his life in an instant, notwithstanding the obligation they were under, by their assurance, to spare it.

The circumstances of this prelate's death have been differently reported and variously censured, according to the sentiments of those by whom they are recorded. As for his character, it is best gathered from an ingenious countryman of his own; who says, "Cardinal Beatoun did not use his power with a moderation equal to the prudence by which he attained it. Notwithstanding his great abilities, he had too many of the passions and prejudices of an angry leader of a faction, to govern a divided people with temper. His resentment against one part of the nobility, and his benevolence towards

towards the rest; his severity to the reformers, and, above all, his barbarous and illegal prosecution of the famous George Wishart, a man of honourable birth and primitive sanctity, wore out the patience of a fierce age." Another writer speaking of him says, "Tho' he was not remarkable for his learning, yet he was very far from being deficient in that point. And though he is grievously censured by some, as well as highly extolled by others, yet it seems to be a thing agreed by all, that his abilities were no way inferior to his fortune. He was a great friend to his family; and, though a priest, left behind him posterity, which yet maintain an honourable rank in their native country. He was so well beloved by the people of St. Andrew's, that, as soon as they knew his castle was seized, they rose, in hopes of delivering him; but his dead body being exposed from a window, their hearts failed them, and they dispersed."

End of the FIRST VOLUME.



G. R.

WHEREAS Our trusty and well-beloved EDWARD DILLY, of our city of London, Bookseller, hath, by his petition, humbly represented unto us, that he hath undertaken to print and publish a work called *The British Plutarch, or Biographical Entertainer*; being a select collection of the ~~lives~~ ^{lives} at large of the most eminent men, natives of Great-Britain and Ireland, from the reign of king Henry the Fifth, to that of Our late Royal Grandfather, both inclusive: in the prosecution of which he hath been at great trouble and expence in procuring access to antient records, memoirs, papers, and other authentic intelligence: as well as engaging several gentlemen of learning and abilities, to compile from those materials, in such a stile and method, as to render that work more amusing and universally useful, than any thing of the kind that has hitherto made its appearance. And, being desirous of reaping the fruits of his said labour and expence, and enjoying the full profit and benefit that may arise from vending the above-mentioned valuable

able work, without any other person's interfering in his just property : he hath therefore most humbly prayed Us to grant him Our Royal Licence, for the sole printing, publishing, and vending, the said work. We do therefore, by these Presents, so far as may be agreeable to the statute in that case made and provided, grant unto him, the said EDWARD DILLY, his executors, administrators, and assigns, Our Royal Licence, for the sole printing, publishing, and vending, the said work, for the term of fourteen years ; strictly forbidding all Our subjects, within Our kingdoms and dominions, to reprint, abridge, or publish the same, either in the like, or any other volume, or volumes, whatsoever ; or to import, buy, vend, utter, or distribute, any copies thereof reprinted beyond the seas, during the aforesaid term of fourteen years, without the consent and approbation of the said EDWARD DILLY, his heirs, executors, and assigns, under their hands and seals first had and obtained, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. Wherefore the commissioners, and other officers of the customs, the master, wardens, and company of stationers, are to take notice, that due obedience may be rendered to Our will and pleasure herein declared.

Given at Our Court at St. James's, this 20th Day of January, 1762, in the second Year of Our reign.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

Page

EDWARD SEYMOUR, - - - 1

Sebastian Cabot, - - - - 58

John Dudley, - - - - - 74

Hugh Latimer, - - - - 103

John Hooper. - - - - 173

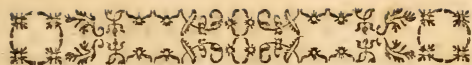


CONTENTS

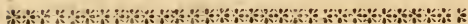
SECOND EDITION

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THE
BRITISH PLUTARCH.



THE LIFE OF
EDWARD SEYMOUR.

(Including Memoirs of Lord SUDLEY.)

EDWARD Seymour, who was afterwards invested with the dignity of protector, during the minority of Edward the VI. was of a noble and antient family which came from Normandy with William the Conqueror, and brother to Jane Seymour, with whom Henry the VIII. married, immediately after the death of Anne Bullen: till after this event writers have left us no account of him; but then he was created lord Seymour, and viscount Beauchamp, and then earl of Hertford; from which time he always held a distinguished rank at court, and the king having employed him in several military expeditions, he acquitted himself in such a manner, as gained him more and more the confidence of his royal master.

At the time of Henry's death, he was lord chamberlain, and being uncle to the new monarch, he was sent to inform young Edward, who was then at Enfield, of his father's decease, and to conduct him up to London. But no sooner was the forms of government settled, pursuant to the will of his late majesty, who had appointed sixteen regents, than several of the council observed that it must needs be very troublesome for the people, and especially for foreign ministers, to be under a necessity of applying to sixteen persons of equal authority, and proposed that some one should be chosen head and president, with the title of protector. This motion was vigorously opposed by the lord chancellor Wrothesly, who easily perceived that the dignity would be conferred on the earl of Hertford, by which means, his own power, being by his office, as things then stood, the second person in the regency, would suffer great deminution; but Seymour had so great a party in the council, that the question being put, it was carried in the affirmative, and it was unanimously agreed, on account of his relation to the king, and his experience in state affairs, that he should be declared regent and governor of the king's person, which was accordingly done, but with this express condition, that he should not undertake or perform any thing, without the consent of all the other executors to Henry's will.

The lord chancellor, who made the greatest opposition to the earl of Hertford's advancement,

ment, could expect but little favour from the new protector. The emulation that subsisted between them soon became very conspicuous; and the nation, being then divided between those who were attached to the old superstition, and those who desired a compleat reformation, the protector set himself at the head of the latter party, and the lord chancellor of the former; and shortly after, the protector was created duke of Somerset, at the same time that others of the regents and counsellors had new dignities conferred on them, upon the testimony of certain witnesses, to whom king Henry, just before his death, had opened his mind, concerning the honours he proposed to confer on those he distinguished with so high a trust. But besides the secular honours conferred on the earl of Hertford, we are informed by Dr. Burnet, that he had six good prebendaries promised him; two of these being afterwards converted into a deanery and treasurer'ship: and on the sixth of February, 1746, the lord protector knighted the king, being empowered so to do by letters patent. So it seems, that as the laws of chivalry required that the king should receive knighthood from the hands of some other knight, so it was judged too great a presumption for his own subject to give it, without a warrant under the great seal.

The lord chancellor Wrothesly was as has been already observed, the protector's adversary, and a great enemy to the reformation,

and the reformed. The protector wished to be rid of him, as did likewise the major part of the regents; and he soon afforded them a plausible pretence. Resolving to apply chiefly to affairs of state, he had on the 18th of February, put the great seal to a commission directed to the master of the rolls, and three masters in chancery, empowering them to execute the lord chancellor's office in the court of chancery, in as ample a manner as if he himself were present. This being done by his own authority, without any warrant from the lord protector, and the other regents, complaint was brought before the council, and it was ordered that the judges should give their opinions concerning the case in writing. Their answer was, that the chancellor being only entrusted with his office, he could not commit the exercise thereof to others without the royal consent, that by so doing he had by the common law, forfeited his place, and was liable to fine and imprisonment during the king's pleasure. The chancellor fell into a great passion with the judges on this opinion being delivered in council, nay, he went so far as to tell the protector that he held his office of lord chancellor by an undoubted authority, since he held from it the king himself; whereas it was a great question whether he was lawfully protector. But this haughtiness was far from mending the matter, he was immediately confined to his house till farther orders. Then it was debated what his
punishment

punishment should be : it was not judged expedient to divest him of the regency, but to render it useless to him he was left under an arrest, and the great seal was taken from him, and given to the lord St. John, till another chancellor should be appointed. So he remained in confinement till the 19th of July 1547, when he was released from imprisonment upon entering into recognizance of four thousand pounds, to pay whatever fine the court should think fit to impose upon him.

After the protector had got rid of this troublesome rival, he thought of nothing but how to have the sole management of affairs, and to be protector indeed, To attain his ends, he represented to the regents and council, that it was controverted by several persons, whether they could, by their sole authority, name a protector ; that the French ambassador in particular, had hinted, that he did not think he could safely treat with him without knowing whether he was duly authorised, since his title might be contested for the want of authority in those who had conferred it. So the protector, and the council, on the 13th of March 1547, petitioned the king, that they might act by a commission under the great seal, which might empower and justify them in what they were to do. This patent being drawn, and the great seal set to it, the protector became all in all : he governed with an absolute sway, being under no obligation to consult with any but what were devoted to

him: but on the other hand, this step, with some others of the like nature, which he made afterwards, drew upon him the ill will and envy of many persons, particularly the nobility, who made him in the end feel the effects of their resentment.

In the year 1547 began a war with Scotland, of which it is proper to speak in this place, as the protector was the principal person concerned in it. Henry VIII. had left his affairs with that kingdom in such a situation, that there was a necessity for desisting from the marriage agreed upon between Edward, and the young queen, mentioned in the life of cardinal Beaton, or of procuring the treaty to be executed by force of arms. Henry II. of France, had already declared he would assist the Scots to the utmost of his power; the projected marriage was however so advantageous to England, that it was well worth exerting an effort to bring it about; besides Henry VIII. had so expressly ordered before he died, that all possible means should be used to accomplish it, that the protector thought he could not be excused from taking some steps to shew he was willing to execute his late master's orders, who all along flattered himself that the inconveniencies and dangers of a war would in the end oblige the Scots to execute the treaty. For this purpose every thing being prepared, and the protector ready to set out in order to command the army, the French ambassador desired him to consent to a
negociation

negociation before hostilities were begun ; and the duke being willing to keep fair with France, complied with the request, and conferences were opened on the 14th of August. Tonstall, who was first plenipotentiary, had orders to yield to every thing, provided the Scotch commissioners should have power to agree to the marriage, otherwise he was to break off the congress, which condition rendered the negociation ineffectual : for the Scots had nothing like it in their instructions ; so the protector, putting himself at the head of the English army, entered the territories of Scotland, the third of September, 1547, with a force of fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, having the earl of Warwick for his lieutenant general.

He took some castles in this march, particularly the castle of Broughty, near the Tay's mouth, where he left a garrison of two hundred men. In a few days he came within sight of the Scotch army, thirty thousand strong, with thirty pieces of cannon : it expected him on the field of Pinkey, near Mafelburgh. Of this army ten thousand were commanded by the regent, eight thousand by the earl of Angus, eight thousand by the earl of Huntley, and four thousand by the earl of Argyle. The Scots were heated with their old national quarrel to England, and in order to encourage the army, it was given out that twelve gallies and fifty ships were on the sea from France, and that they looked for them

every day. The duke of Somerset had undertaken this war against his will, and purely to avoid the blame of a contrary conduct : the sight of the enemy's army, so superior to his own, did not increase his desire to decide the affair by the way of arms ; wherefore he wrote to the earl of Arran, regent of Scotland, desiring him to be tender of the effusion of so much Christian blood, telling him that this war was made for no other design than a perpetual peace, by the marriage of their two princes ; adding, that the Scots were to be much more gainers by it than the English, but if they would not agree to that he offered, that their queen should be bred up among them, and not at all contracted, till she came of age, that by the consent of the estates, she might choose a husband for herself. If they would agree to this, he would immediately retire with his army, and make satisfaction for the damage the country had undergone by his invasion.

But these terms, advantageous as they were, were rejected by the Scotch, they knew the English were distressed for provisions, and thought themselves so much superior, that they determined, at the instigation of the French faction, to force their enemies to an engagement the next day ; and that the fair offers made by the protector, might but raise a division among them, the regent having communicated these to a few of his friends, was persuaded to suppress them, and a report was spread

spread that the English general would not listen to a peace unless the queen was put into his hands : however, the regent sent a trumpeter to the English army with an offer to let them go back unmolested ; but the protector being aware that so mean an action in the beginning of his administration, would quite ruin his reputation, rejected it with disdain. To this, a person that came with the trumpeter, added another message from the earl of Huntley, that the protector and he, with ten or twenty of a side, or singly, should decide the quarrel by their proper valour. The protector said, this was no personal quarrel, and the trust he was in, obliged him not to expose himself in such a way ; and therefore he would fight only at the head of his army. The earl of Warwick, however, offered to accept the challenge, but the earl of Huntley declared afterwards, that he had sent no such challenge ; and said that it was unreasonable for him to expect that the duke of Somerset should have answered it ; and that it would have been an affront to the regent of Scotland, to have taken it off his hands, since he was the only person that might have challenged the protector on equal terms. The truth of the matter is, a gentleman, who went along with the trumpeter, made him do it without warrant, thinking that the answer to it would have taken up some time, during which he might have viewed the enemy's camp.

The two armies were parted by the river Eske: the English were encamped about two miles on the south side, and the Scots along the river side, on the north, so if the Scots had been willing to avoid a battle, very probably the English would never have attempted to pass the river within sight of the enemy. Mean time the protector having formed a design of approaching the Scots, and gaining a rising ground on the left, which commanded their camp, moved forward with his whole army: but the Scots having had notice of it, immediately passed the river, and possessed themselves of that post. The protector having missed his aim, marched to the right towards the coast, in order to encamp on a little hill, which was not far from the river. This march made the Scots imagine he was approaching the sea, on purpose to put his ordinance and baggage on board the fleet which had entered the Frith, that he might retreat the more easily. The whole Scotch army was so prepossessed, that they looked upon the English as already conquered by their fears. Mean while the protector had posted himself on the hill, and made some intrenchments before his camp; this confirmed the Scots in their opinion, that it was only a feint, in order to retire in the night, so resolving to prevent the English from putting this imaginary design in execution, they advanced in good order to give battle. The moment the protector had received intelligence of their march,

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he drew up his army, part on the hill, and part on the plain, and waited the coming of the enemy. He had fixed his artillery in an advantageous place, that commanded the whole plain, and on the other side, his fleet was near enough to be able to fire upon the enemy in flank, nay there was a galliot, which being lighter than the rest of the ships, came very near the land, and annoyed the Scotch army extremely.

On the tenth of September, 1547, the two armies drew out, and fought in the field of Pinkey, near Musselburgh. The English had the advantage of the ground, and, in the beginning of the action, a cannon ball from one of the English ships killed the lord Grame's eldest son, and twenty-five men more, which put the earl of Argyle's highlanders into such a fright, that they could not be kept in order; but, after a charge given by the earl of Angus, in which the English lost some few men, the Scots gave ground, and the English observing that, and breaking in furiously upon them, the Scots threw down their arms and fled, the English pursued hard, and slew them without mercy; fourteen thousand were killed, and one thousand five hundred taken prisoners, among whom was the earl of Huntley, and five hundred gentlemen, and all the artillery was taken. This loss threw all Scotland into the utmost consternation, the regent and the queen retired to Stirling, with the remains of their army, having first garrisoned the castle of

Edinburgh, thus leaving the frontiers to be ravaged by the English. A few days after, the protector took Leith, and the English fleet, commanded by the lord Clinton, likewise burnt several sea port towns in the county of Fife, with all their ships in their harbours. He also put a garrison in the isle of St. Columba in the Frith, of about two hundred soldiers, and left two ships to wait on them. He then sent the earl of Warwick's brother, Sir Ambrose Dudley, to secure the Broughty, a castle in the mouth of the Tray, in which he left two hundred soldiers, which done, he marched to Edinburgh, and entering without any opposition, plundered the city. But he neither took the castle of Edinburgh, nor did he go to Stirling, where the queen with the stragglers of the army lay. Such a terror had seized all Scotland, that if the protector had followed his success vigorously, it can scarce admit of a doubt that he would have forced the regent to give up the young queen, or would have subdued the kingdom; but some private reasons pressed his return, and made him forego the advantages which were in his hands, so that the Scots had time to bring succours out of France.

The earl of Warwick, who had a great share in the honour of the victory, knew that the protector's errors in conduct, would much diminish his glory, and this he was by no means displeased at. On the 18th of September therefore, in the year 1547, the protector drew

drew his army back into England, having received a message from the queen, and the governor of Scotland offering a treaty, he ordered them to send commissioners to Berwick, to treat with those he should appoint. As he returned through the Merch, and Teviotdale, all the chief men in those countries repaired to him, and took an oath to king Edward: they then delivered into his hands all the places of strength in their countries. He left a garrison of two hundred men in Home castle, under command of Sir Edward Dudley, and fortified Roxburgh, where, for to encourage the rest, he worked two hours with his own hands, and put three hundred soldiers, and an hundred pioneers into it, giving Sir Ralph Bulmer the command.

But there were some secret reasons which at this time co-operated to influence the protector's conduct. Sir Thomas Seymour, his youngest brother, was at this time left in England, a man of an envious and haughty disposition: he thought it hard that he should be only a privy counsellor, when the king had made his brother one of the regents: he imagined, that being uncle to the king, he was entitled to much higher honour: and though, at his nephew's coronation, he was created lord Sudley, and in the same year was constituted lord high admiral of England, he was misled by the flattering delusions of ambition. Indeed the admiral immediately after king Henry's death, discovered his aspiring temper,

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by paying his addresses to the princess Elizabeth : but despairing of success in his courtship, he turned to Catherine Parr, queen-dowager, and managed matters with such address, that he won her heart, and married her privately, without communicating it to the duke his brother; but having concealed his marriage for some time, he, without the protector's knowledge, found means to procure a letter from the king, recommending him to the queen for a husband. As soon as he got this letter, he declared his marriage, without giving himself any trouble about his brother. Hence their quarrel first took rise : but the protector, who was endowed with a quality essential to a courtier, namely, moderation, did his utmost to prevent their quarrel from breaking out, though he all along entertained a secret antipathy to his brother.

It seems to admit of no doubt, that the protector's secret enemies fomented the admiral's ambition, by the praises they bestowed upon him, confirming him in the ill opinion he had entertained of the duke his brother. He began his cabals about Easter, by gaining over the king's servants to his interest, that they might espouse his cause with their young master, and endeavour to make him continue his good opinion of him. By their assistance, he so contrived it, that the king frequently came to his house to see his mother-in-law. He strictly enjoined the king's servants, whom he had corrupted, to let him know when his majesty

majesty had occasion for money, telling them that they need not always trouble the treasury ; for he would be ready to furnish him. With this he thought a young king would be taken : so it happened, that the first time Latimer preached at court, the king sent to the admiral to know what present he should make him ; Seymour sent him forty pounds, but said, he thought twenty would be enough to give Latimer, and the king might dispose of the rest as he pleased. Thus he gained ground with the king, whose sweetness of temper exposed him to be easily won by such artifices. It has been said by many, that all this misunderstanding between the brothers was first occasioned by their wives ; and that the protector's lady being offended, that the younger brother's wife should have that precedence, which she looked upon as her own right, thereupon raised and inflamed the difference. But it is not at all reasonable to imagine, that the duchess of Somerset should be so weak, as to think to have the precedence of the queen dowager : it is therefore highly probable, that this story is a mere fiction, though there might, upon other accounts, have been some animosity between the two ladies, who were both equally high-spirited, which might afterwards have been thought to have given occasion to their husband's quarrel.

The protector was no sooner gone to Scotland, but the admiral renewed his cabals with less reserve than before. His pretensions were,
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that, as in former times, the kings of England had had governors of their person, distinct from the protectors of their realms, which trusts were divided between their uncles ; he should therefore himself be made governor of the king's person, alledging, that since he was the king's uncle, as well as his brother, he ought to have an equal share with him in the government. In order to effect his purpose, he dealt money to several persons, and never ceased paying his court to the king : nay, he obtained, unknown to his brother, a new and more ample patent for the office of lord admiral, with an addition of two hundred marks to the salary. Sir William Paget, who was devoted to the protector, and perhaps had orders to watch the admiral, seeing how he increased in favour with the king, expostulated with him in plain terms. He asked him, why he attempted to reverse that, which himself and others had consented to under their hands ? Their family was now so great, that nothing but their mutual quarrelling could do them any prejudice ; but there would not be wanting officious men to inflame them, if once they were divided among themselves. But all his remonstrances were ineffectual ; for the admiral was resolved to go on, and either get himself advanced higher, or perish in the attempt.

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interest with the king, on whom his artifices had made a considerable impresson ; for the young monarch was much better pleased to have for governor an uncle, who had all the condescension possible for him, than one who was not so complaisant, but kept him more in awe. So, his age not permitting him to make other reflections on this matter, he wrote with his own hand a message to the House of Commons, desiring them to make the admiral the governor of his person. This Sudley intended to have carried himself to the house, where he had a party, by whose means he was confident of carrying his point. He dealt also with many of the lords and the counsellors to assist him in it ; and when his design took air, the council sent some lords to him in his brother's name, to reason the case with him, and prevail with him to proceed no farther. He refused to hearken to them, saying, That if he was crossed in his attempt, he would make this the blackest parliament that ever was in England : whereupon he was sent for next day by order from the council, but refused to come. He was then severely threatened, and told, that the king's writing was nothing in law ; but that he, who had procured it, was liable to be punished for doing an act of such a nature ; so they resolved to have him divested of all his offices, and sent to the Tower, and prosecuted upon the act of parliament, which made it death to disturb the government. This menace terrified him : he plainly saw,

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though he had the king on his side, a young prince, who was but just entered into his eleventh year, would not have resolution enough to support him, contrary to the advice of the protector and the council ; he chose therefore to submit himself, and his brother, and he seemed perfectly reconciled. However, as the protector had reason to have a watchful eye over him, so it was but too evident he had not laid aside his ambitious projects, but only deferred the execution of them till a fitter conjuncture.

The protector had gained honour in the Scotch campaign, having in the whole expedition lost not above sixty men, if we may credit the relation of an historian, who wrote an account of it at the time ; the Scotch writers themselves do not say he lost above two or three hundred. He had taken eighty pieces of cannon, and bridled the two chief rivers of the kingdom by the garrisons he left in them, and had left many garrisons in the strong places on the frontiers. It may be easily imagined, that must greatly raise his reputation, especially with the people ; but he was exposed to the envy of the nobles, who, if Sir John Hayward is to be credited, had not much esteem for him. The opposition of sentiments between the nobles and people, proved greatly prejudicial to him : it induced him to rely too much on the people's favour. As by the patent which the king had given him he was not obliged to follow the advice
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of the council, he generally consulted only such as were devoted to him, and overlooked the rest, as if there were no such men. This behaviour seemed at first a little extraordinary, in one who was by no means naturally proud or haughty, but rather humble, modest, and civil. The best reason that can be assigned for this his conduct is his great zeal for the reformation, which he was bent on promoting by all manner of means. This was doubtless what made him think it necessary to remove from the administration those who were not actuated with the same zeal with himself, that he might lessen their opposition as much as possible. Besides, he had passed a great part of his life in the court of Henry VIII. where he had seen arbitrary power carried to the greatest height ; and, as Henry's severity had been successful, he thought it advisable to regulate his conduct by much the same maxims. The catholic party, in order to retard the progress of the reformation, engaged the lady Mary to espouse their cause : she therefore wrote to the protector to let him know, that she looked upon all innovations in religion, till the king came of age, to be altogether inconsistent with the respect they owed her father's memory, and equally so, with their duty to their young master, to hazard the peace of his kingdom, and engage his authority in such points, before he was capable of forming a judgment concerning them. Her letter is not extant, but that such was the purport

port of it, appears from the protector's answer. Some days before the meeting of the parliament in the year 1547, the lord Rich was made lord chancellor, and on the third of November, the day before the opening of the parliament, the protector, by a patent under the great seal, was warranted to sit in parliament on the right hand of the throne, under the cloth of state, whether the king was present or not, and moreover was to enjoy all the honours and privileges that any of the uncles of the kings of England, or any protector, had ever enjoyed. This proceeding was a clear evidence, that the duke of Somerset's intention was not only to be above all, but even to destroy by degrees the very remembrance of the form of government established by Henry VIII. though he did not neglect to get this patent approved by the council, before it was sealed ; yet that could by no means entirely justify him. It was well known, that the king did nothing but by his direction ; that the council was guided by him ; and that it would have been very dangerous for the counsellors directly to oppose a patent which concerned him in particular. As the parliament was this year very favourable to the reformation, particularly passing an act to abolish private masses, and to grant the cup to the people in the communion, it seems highly probable, that it was entirely guided by the duke of Somerset.

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But now the admiral began again to distribute money among the king's servants, and never ceased endeavouring, both by himself and by those whom he had gained, to infuse into his majesty a dislike of the protector, and his other ministers : nay, his insinuations were so powerful with Edward, that he was often induced to assume the government himself, which made the protector set spies about the admiral, as he began to look upon him as a dangerous enemy. But notwithstanding the great mortification the admiral had already undergone, he still continued his practices, in spite of the warnings which were given him from time to time, that they would end in his ruin.

The queen dowager, who had married him, died in September, 1548, and it was strongly suspected by many, that she had been taken off by poison. She was a good and virtuous lady, and, through the whole course of her life, had given no handle to censure, except when she married the admiral, contrary to all the laws of decency, and so soon after the king's death. There was found, amongst her papers, a discourse which she had written concerning herself, entitled, "The lamentation of a sinner;" it was published by Cecil, who wrote a preface to it. In it she with great sincerity acknowledges the sinful life which she had led for many years; during which she, relying on external performances, such as fasts and pilgrimages, was all that while a stranger to the internal and true power of religion,

gion, which she came afterwards to feel by the study of the scriptures, and the calling upon God for his holy spirit. She also explains therein the notion she had of justification by faith, so that holiness necessarily follows upon it; but lamented the great scandal given by many gospellers, for so all those were called, who addicted themselves to the study of the scriptures.

After her death, the admiral resolved to renew his addresses to the princess Elizabeth, but did not meet with that encouragement which he flattered himself with the hopes of; which attempt occasioned an act for declaring the marriage of the king's sisters, without the consent of council, to be treason. But finding himself baffled in this design, he turned his thoughts another way, in order to gratify his ambition. It is said, he formed a design to carry away the king to his house of Holt, to dispossess the protector, and to seize the government himself: for this end he laid in magazines of arms, and listd about two thousand, others say, ten thousand men, in several different places. He moreover entered into a treaty with several of the nobility that envied his brother's greatness, and were not displeased to see the difference between them grown irreconcilable. To these he promised, that they should be of the council, and that he would dispose of the king in marriage to one of their daughters.

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Some historians have advanced, that the protector being informed of all his proceedings, shewed himself extremely patient towards him, and refused to carry things to extremity, till he saw plainly, that one or other must inevitably be ruined. But, as Mr. Rapin justly observes, we cannot entirely rely upon what historians say of the admiral's private designs, or of the protector's forbearance: for, as some make it their business to blacken the protector's reputation as much as possible, so others strive to vindicate all his actions. It is, however, out of dispute, that the admiral was not satisfied with his condition, and that at last, his ambition appearing incurable, he was, on the nineteenth of January, committed to the Tower; and the day following, the seal of his office was sent for, and put into secretary Smith's hands; after which, many things appeared against him; but the affair was suspended till the 28th of February.

In the mean time, the war with Scotland occasioned the protector great uneasiness. He was very sensible, that it was a ridiculous thing to think of getting the king's marriage with the queen of Scotland accomplished by way of arms, in spite of the queen dowager, the regent, and the council; besides, he knew France was preparing to send them a very powerful aid; and therefore he saw plainly, that it would be a very hard task to succeed in this undertaking; besides, that it was very likely this war would occasion a rupture with
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France. Add to this, that nothing was more repugnant than a war to his design of promoting the reformation. He would have been very glad if the regent of Scotland would have accepted a ten years truce, which he sent him the offer of: but the Scots would by no means consent to it, because France had promised them a powerful aid. The protector was therefore forced, against his will, to continue the war; but, as he did not chuse to command the army himself, he gave the command of it to Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, whom he appointed his lieutenant. On this occasion he plainly discovered that he intended to stretch the prerogatives of the protectorship as high as they could go, since he would have the earl to take his commission of him. However, as the patent he had obtained the 13th of March last year did not so clearly give him the power of nominating his own lieutenant, he ordered another to be prepared, wherein his prerogatives were more fully explained and enlarged.

In this war, which was carried on with but indifferent success, the protector made use of some German troops; and those of the landgrave of Hesse also having no leader in the empire, had offered themselves to him, and were readily entertained in his service. This had raised great murmurings against him, the English being impatient of seeing in the kingdom foreign troops, who are generally too much devoted to the king. It was easy
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to perceive, that the protector's aim was to strengthen him personally with the aid of these foreigners. The protector could not even escape the censure of those of his own party : he and the archbishop of Canterbury, who were the chief supporters of the reformation, carried it on with great zeal, though always with an eye to the rule they had laid down, of proceeding gradually. Whatever reasons they might have for taking that course, the zealous of the reformed party were not pleased with it, because they were afraid, that by some sudden unexpected turn, the work would be left unfinished. They knew the protector was hated and envied by many of the nobility, and that all the Romish party had a mortal aversion for him. This made them apprehend, that his enemies would at length get the better of him, the administration he was entrusted with being of such a nature, that it was hardly possible but it would afford some handle against him.

During this interval it is said, that the protector made another attempt to gain his brother ; and, as he had, since their first breach, granted him eight hundred pounds a year in land, so he now did his utmost to persuade him to submit, and retire from court and all employment. But the hatred the admiral bore the protector being insurmountable, on the 22d of February a full report was made to the council, with an accusation consisting of thirty-three articles.

It seems highly probable, that Lord Sudley was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, since he answered only the three first articles, and that with much reluctance. The particulars of his charge were so manifestly proved, not only by witnesses, but by letters under his own hand, that it did not seem possible to deny them. Yet, when he was first sent to, and examined by some of the privy counsellors, he refused to make a direct answer, or to sign the answers he had made; so it was ordered, that, on the next day, all the privy council, except the archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir John Baker, speaker to the House of Commons, who was obliged to attend at the house, should go to the Tower, and examine him. Accordingly, the lord-chancellor, with the other privy counsellors, repaired to the Tower, and read to him the articles of his charge: they then earnestly desired him to make plain answers, to excuse himself where he could, and submit where he could not, without shewing any obstinacy of mind. To this he answered, that he expected an open trial, and to have his accusers confronted with him. The privy-counsellors used all the arguments they could think of to persuade him to be more tractable, but to no purpose. At last, the lord-chancellor required him, on his allegiance, to make his answer. He persisted to refuse making any answer, without having the articles left with him, that he might con-
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sider of them at leisure; but the counsellors would not consent to leave them with him on those terms.

On the 29th of February, 1549, it was resolved in council, that the whole board should, after dinner, acquaint the king with the state of the affair, and desire to know whether it was his pleasure that the law should take place, and whether he would leave the determination of the affair to the parliament, as it had been laid before them; so cautiously did they proceed in a case which concerned the life of their young king's uncle. But the youthful monarch was aware of his seditious temper, and had been much alienated from him some time since. When the counsellors waited on his majesty, the lord-chancellor opened the matter to him, declaring it, as his opinion, that it should be left to the parliament. Then the other counsellors gave their opinions, in which they all agreed with the lord-chancellor. The protector spoke last: he protested, that this affair gave him the greatest concern; that he had done his utmost to prevent it from coming to such an extremity; but, were it son or brother, he must prefer his majesty's safety to them, for he weighed his allegiance more than his blood; and that therefore he was not against the request that the other lords had made. He added, That if he himself were guilty of such offences, he should think he were unworthy of life; and the rather, because he was, of all men, the most

bound to his majesty, and therefore he could not refuse justice. The king's answer was as follows : " We perceive, that there are great things objected and laid to my lord high admiral, my uncle, and they tend to treason ; and, we perceive, that you require but justice to be done, we think it reasonable, that you proceed according to your request." Which words, (as it is observed in the council-book) coming so suddenly from his grace's mouth, of his own motion, as the lords might perceive, they were marvellously rejoiced, and gave the king most hearty praise and thanks : yet resolved, that some of both houses should be sent to the admiral, before the bill should be put in against him, to see what he could or would say.

All this was done in order to bring him to a submission : so the lord chancellor, the earls of Shrewsbury, Warwick, and Southampton ; and Sir John Baker, Sir Thomas Cheyney, and Sir Anthony Denny, were sent to him. He long continued obstinate, but was at last prevailed upon to give an answer to the first three articles ; and then he stopped on a sudden, and bid them be content, for he would go no farther ; and no intreaties could work on him, either to answer the rest, or to set his hand to the answers he had made.

On the 25th of February, 1550, the bill was put in for attainting him, and the peers had been so accustomed to agree to such bills in king Henry's time, that they made no difficulty

ficulty to pass it. All the judges, and the king's council, were unanimous in their opinions, that the articles were treason. Then the evidence was brought ; many lords gave it so fully, that all the rest, with one voice, consented to the bill ; only the protector, for natural pity's sake, as it is said in the council-book, desired leave to withdraw. On the 27th, the bill was sent down to the commons, with a message, that if they desired to proceed as the lords had done, those lords that had given their evidence in their own house, should come down, and declare it to the commons. But there was much opposition made to it in the House of Commons. They could not forbear exclaiming against attainders in absence, and the irregular manner of judging the accused, without confronting them with the witnesses, or hearing their defence. It was thought a very unwarrantable method of proceeding, that some peers should rise up in their places, in their own house, and relate somewhat to the slander of another, and that he should thereupon be attainted : they pressed therefore that it might be done by a trial ; and that the admiral might be brought to the bar, and allowed to plead for himself. They would, in all probability, have thrown out the bill, if the king had not sent them a message, that he did not think the admiral's presence necessary ; and that it was sufficient they should examine the depositions which had been produced in the House of Lords.

The king having thus intimated his pleasure, the commons, in a full house of four hundred, passed the bill, not above ten or twelve voting in the negative. It is very probable, they were satisfied of the truth of the depositions, and that the point in question being only an irregularity, which was even become a custom, they did not believe this a proper season to reform it. The bill being passed, the royal assent was given on the fifth of March, 1549, and on the tenth of the same month the council resolved to press the king, that justice might be done on the admiral. It is said, in the council-book, that since the case was so heavy and lamentable to the protector, though it was also sorrowful to them all, they resolved to proceed in it, so that neither the king nor he should be further troubled with it. After dinner, they went to the king, the protector being with them. The king said, He had well observed their proceedings, and thanked them for their great care of his safety, and commanded them to proceed in it, without further molesting him or the protector, and ended, "I pray you, my lords, do so." Upon this, the bishop of Ely had orders to attend the admiral, and instruct him in the things that relate to a future state, and prepare him to meet his fate with patience and resignation: and, on the 17th of March, he having made report of his attendance on the admiral, the council signed a warrant for his execution, in
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purfuanee whereof the admiral was beheaded on the 20th of March 1549.

The protector upon this occasion incurred very severe censures, for consenting to his death. It was said if the admiral was guilty, it was only against his brother, whom he would have supplanted, and it seems scarce to admit of a doubt, that it was this same brother who was his adversary, and brought him to the scaffold. Rapin tells us that he cannot help suspecting that they who had thoughts then of ruining the protector, feigned to be his friends, spurred him on to be revenged on his brother, and were very ready to serve as his instruments, but it seems much more probable that he did not want to be stimulated by them, and that he was like the Turk, unwilling to bear a brother near the throne, for which reason, the animosity of the nobles against the protector was greatly inflamed, as well as by his readiness to espouse the cause of the people. This appeared in an eminent manner on the following occasion. After the suppression of the abbeyes, there were vast numbers of monks dispersed through the kingdom, who were forced to work for their bread, their pensions being ill paid, or not sufficient for their subsistence. So the work being divided among so many hands, the profit became less than before, moreover, whilst the monasteries stood, their lands were let out at very easy rents to farmers, who, to cultivate them, were obliged to employ a vast number of people. But after
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their lands were fallen into the hands of the nobility and gentry, the rents were much raised, whence it came to pass that the farmers, to make them turn to better account, were forced to employ fewer hands, and lessen the wages. On the other side, the proprietors of the lands, finding since the last peace with France, the woollen trade flourished, bethought themselves of breeding sheep, because wool brought them in more money than corn. To that end they caused their grounds to be inclosed: hence arose several inconveniencies. In the first place, the price of corn was raised to the great detriment of the lower sort of people, in the next place, the landlords or their farmers had occasion only for few persons to look after their flocks in grounds so inclosed. Thus many were deprived of the means of getting a livelihood, and the profit of the lands, which was before shared by a great many, was almost wholly engrossed by the landlords; this occasioned great complaints and murmurs among the common people, who saw they were likely to be reduced to great misery; nay, several little books were published, setting forth the mischief which must result from such proceedings. But the nobility and gentry continued the same course notwithstanding, without being at all solicitous about the consequences. The protector openly espoused the cause of the poor people, either to mortify the nobles, by whom he was detested, or, because he was aware of the mischiefs which might arise from popular discontent.

discontent. Having the year before appointed commissioners to examine, whether those who had the abbey-lands, kept hospitality, and performed all the conditions upon which those lands were sold them, but he met with so many obstacles in the execution of this order, that it produced no effect.

Thus the protector continued to aggravate the hatred of the nobility and gentry, who found their account in countenancing the abuses. Nay, it happened in the last session of the parliament, that the lords passed an act for giving every one leave to inclose his grounds if he pleased : but the bill was thrown out by the commons, and yet the lords and gentlemen went on in inclosing their lands; this occasioned a general discontent among the people, who had apprehensions of a formed design to ruin them, and reduce them to a state of slavery ; upon this the common people made an insurrection in Wiltshire, but Sir William Herbert dispersed them, and caused some of them to be hanged. About the same time there were the like insurrections in Suffex, Hampshire, Kent, Gloucestershire, Suffolk, Warwick, Essex, Hertfordshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, and Worcestershire. The protector perceiving the flames were kindling all over the kingdom, sent to let the people know he was ready to redress their grievances, and by this means he stopped their fury ; in order to perform his promise, he laid the affair before the council, hoping that some expedient

might be found to satisfy the malecontents ; but he met with so great an opposition, that he thought it absolutely necessary to have recourse to his sole authority, and therefore, contrary to the opinion of the whole council, he issued out a proclamation against all new inclosures, and granted a general pardon to the people for what was past. He went further, contrary to the opinion of the council, he appointed commissioners with an unlimited power, to hear and determine causes about inclosures, highways, and cottages, these commissioners were much complained of by the nobility and gentry, who said openly, that it was an invasion of their property, to subject them to an arbitrary power, they even went so far as to oppose the commissioners when they offered to execute their commission ; for this reason the protector, whose measures were generally opposed, was not able to redress this grievance so fully as he desired. So the people finding the court did not perform what was promised, rose again in several places, and particularly in Oxfordshire, Devonshire, Norfolk, and Yorkshire. Those in Oxfordshire were immediately dispersed by the lord Gray ; the insurrection in Devonshire was more considerable and dangerous, that county abounding with people, who had only complied outwardly with the alterations made in religion ; the priests and monks ran in among them, and used their utmost efforts to foment the rebellion. They came together first on the
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the 10th of June, and in a short time they grew to be ten thousand strong. At first the protector neglected this affair, hoping this insurrection might be quelled as easily as the others had been. At last, perceiving they were bent to persist in their rebellion, he sent the lord Ruffel with a small force to stop their proceedings. The rebellion was soon quelled, and, during the continuance of it, the protector discovered, by the whole tenor of his conduct, that he did not desire to come to extremities with the rebels, being either persuaded that the people had reason to complain, or, desirous to gain their favour as a shield against the nobility, who hated him. Inasmuch that after all the commotions were over, he moved in the council that there might be a general pardon proclaimed of all that was past, in order to restore the peace of the kingdom: but this motion met with great opposition; many of the council were for taking this occasion to curb the insolence of the people; but the protector being of another mind, gave out, by his sole authority, a general pardon of all that had been done before the 21st of August, and excepted out of it only a few rebel prisoners. He had power to act in this manner by virtue of his patent, but it drew upon him more the hatred of the nobles, as well as of a good part of the counsellors, who were highly mortified to see they were consulted only for form-sake, and that their opinions were of no manner of weight. It must, how-

ever, be acknowledged that England was by the prudence and moderation of the protector, delivered from one of the most threatening storms that at any time had broke out in it.

The war with Scotland was not successful, mean while the war, began by the king of France, made the duke extremely uneasy. He had received information that Henry II. was entered into a treaty with the German protestants, and had promised them a strong aid, as soon as he should have received Boulogne. On the other hand, as he was exceeding zealous for the reformation, he plainly saw nothing could be more advantageous, than the union of France with the German protestants, but he was sorry it was to cost the English Boulogne. He farther considered, that, if the war with France should last any time, there was some reason to fear the Romish party would be able to stir up troubles in the kingdom, and if they should, it was easy to see how difficult it would be to carry on three years war at once. In short, there was another reason which concerned him in particular, and made him desirous of a peace with France, this was, that the war might give his enemies too great an advantage, on account of the ill accidents it might be attended with, whereas a peace enabled him to parry their blows. He knew there was a strong faction already formed against him, as well by reason of the envy which always attends greatness, and of his having disoblged the nobility and gentry
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in the business of inclosures, as because of the wrong he had done to many of the counsellors, in depriving them of the dignity of regents, and reducing them to the bare state of privy counsellors. Among these the chief were the earl of Southampton, who had taken his place again in the council, and the earl of Warwick. This last was immoderately ambitious, he envied the protector, and esteemed him but little.

The earl of Southampton perceiving this, suggested to him that he had, in reality, got all those victories, for which the protector triumphed, that he had won the field at Pinkey, near Musselburgh, and had subdued the rebels in Norfolk: and as he had before defeated the French, so, if he was sent over thither, new triumphs would follow him, but it was below him to be second to any. So he engaged him to oppose in all things the protector, all whose wary motions were ascribed to fear or dulness. To this he said, what friendship could be expected from a man who had no pity on his brother. The duke of Somerset had indeed given great grounds for jealousies against himself, but nothing drew upon him more public envy, than the noble palace he was raising in the Strand, which still bears his name. It was built from the ruins of some bishops houses, and churches, which rendered it more invidious to the people, it was said that whilst the king was engaged in such dangerous wars, and London much dis-
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ordered by the plague that had been in it some months, he was then bringing architects from Italy, and designing such a house as had not been seen in England. It was also said, that many bishops, and cathedrals had resigned many manors to him to obtain his favour: though this was not done without leave obtained from the king, for, in a grant of some lands made to him by the king, on the 11th of July, in the second year of his reign, it is said that these lands were given him as a reward of his services in Scotland, for which he was offered greater rewards: but, that he refusing to accept of such grants as might too much impoverish the crown, had taken a licence from the bishop of Bath and Wells, for alienating some of the lands of that bishopric to him. He is in that patent called by the grace of God, duke of Somerset; which expression, by the grace of God, had not been used for some years past but in speaking of sovereign princes. It was also said, that many of the chantry lands had been sold to his friends at easy rates; for which they concluded he had great presents, and an uncommon prosperity had raised him too high; so that he did not behave to the nobility with that condescension which might be expected from him.

All these things concurred to raise him many enemies, and he had very few friends; for none adhered firmly to him but Paget, and secretary Smith, and archbishop Cranmer, who was never known to forsake his friend. All those that favoured the old superstition were
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his enemies ; and, seeing the earl of Southampton at the head of the party against him, they all immediately joined with him. Goodrich, bishop of Ely, who was for the reformation, joined them likewise. He had attended the admiral in his preparation for death, from whom he had received very ill impressions of the protector. All his enemies were sensible, and he was sensible himself, that the continuance of the war would inevitably ruin him, and that a peace would confirm him in his power.

This consideration made the protector resolve to propose to the council the restitution of Boulogne to France : but though he backed this motion with all the reasons he thought most plausible, it was received by the council with signs of indignation, and considered as downright cowardice. It was too nice an affair for the protector to think of doing it by his own authority ; and therefore, though he plainly perceived the opposite faction would carry it, he was willing his proposal should be debated in form.

The result of their consultation was, that Boulogne should not be restored, but that they should endeavour to make an alliance with the emperor for the security of that place. Paget was appointed for the embassy, because, being devoted to the protector, the ill success which attended this negotiation was designed to be thrown upon him, in order to asperse the protector himself.

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There had been so many ill reports published against the duke of Somerset, that it was not possible but that he should hear of them, and guess at the authors of them. Thus all the month of September was spent in disputes and heats, his enemies only seeking an occasion of quarrel, on purpose to execute what they had resolved. Several persons interposed to mediate, but to no effect; for now the faction against him was grown too strong. The protector seeing his enemies go openly to work, was apprehensive that they had formed a design to carry away the king. On the sixth of October, 1549, the lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Southampton, Warwick, and Arundel; Sir Edward North, Sir Richard Southwel, Sir Edmund Peckham, Sir Edward Wotton, and Dr. Wotton, met at Ely-house in Holborn, and sat as the king's council. Secretary Petre being sent to them in the king's name, to ask the reason of their meeting, they forced him to stay with them.

Being thus met, they considered the state of the kingdom, and laid on the protector the blame of all the pretended disorders which were found there, and of the losses lately sustained in France. They then declared, that they had that very day intended to confer with him; but, hearing he had armed his servants, and many others whom he had placed about the king, they did not think themselves obliged to expose their defenceless persons to an armed force. This done, they sent for the lord-mayor,

mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, with the lieutenant of the Tower, and expressly forbid them to own the duke of Somerset for protector. The lieutenant of the Tower promised to obey. The mayor and aldermen answered more cautiously ; but, in all likelihood, most part of them were already gained, as it plainly appeared two days after. The lord-chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and the lord-chief-justice Montague, joined with them, being highly provoked at the protector removing the king to Windsor, upon receiving intelligence of the proceedings of the council against him, and arming such as he could gather about him at Windsor or Hampton-court.

The council at London complained much of this, that the king should be carried to a place where there were no provisions fit for him. So they ordered all things that he might need, to be sent to him from London. On the 8th of October 1549, they went in a body to Guildhall, where the common-council were met. They declared to it, that they were so far from having any ill designs against the king, that their sole aim was to take him out of the hands of the duke of Somerset, who only minded his own private interest. Upon which the common-council openly declared, they were ready to stand by them to the utmost of their power. No sooner was the duke informed,

informed, that not only the city of London, but the lieutenant of the Tower, of whom he thought himself secure, had forsaken him, but his heart failed him, and he resolved to struggle no longer; though it is not improbable, that he who was chiefly accused for his protecting the Commons, might have easily gathered a great body of men for his own preservation; but he thought it more adviseable to yield to the tide now against him.

Hereupon there was sent to London a warrant under the king's hand, for any two of the lords of the council that were there, to come to Windsor with twenty servants a piece, who had the king's faith for their safety in coming and going: and Cranmer, Paget and Smith wrote to them to end the matter peaceably, and not follow cruel councils, nor suffer themselves to be misled by those who meant otherwise than they professed of which they knew more than they would then mention. This seemed to be levelled at the earl of Southampton. On the 9th of October 1549, the council at London increased by the accession of lord Rufel, lord Wentworth, sir Anthony Brown, sir Anthony Wingfield, and sir John Baker, the speaker of the house of Commons. For those who had been for a while attached to the protector, seeing he was resolved to submit, came and united themselves to the prevailing party; so that they were in all two and twenty. They were informed, that the protector had said, that if they intended to put him to death, the king should die first; and, if they
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Would famish him, they should famish the king first; and that he had armed his own men, and set them next to the king's person, and had formed a design to carry him out of Windsor, and, as some said, out of the kingdom; upon which they declared him unworthy of the protectorship, though as no proofs of his having spoken those words, were mentioned in the council-books, they look like the forgeries of his enemies to make him odious to the people.

Of all the privy-counsellors only the archbishop of Canterbury and Paget stayed with the king, who seeing the impossibility of withstanding the opposite party, advised the king and the duke to give the council the satisfaction they required. The king consenting to it, the counsellors at London had notice of it by an express. As they had foreseen that the duke would be obliged to come to this, they sent deputies to Windsor with a charge, to see that the duke of Somerset did not withdraw, and that some of his confidants should be put under an arrest. On the 12th of October, the counsellors, enemies of the duke, came in a body to the king, who received them graciously, and assured them, that he took all they had done in good part. Next day they sat in council, and sent for those who were ordered to be kept in their chambers, except Cecil, who had his liberty. They charged them with being the duke of Somerset's chief instruments in all his most arbitrary proceedings; where-

wherefore they turned Smith out of his place of secretary, and sent him, with the rest, to the Tower.

But these articles seem to say as much for his justification, as the answers could do were they extant. Certain it is that he could not deny most of the facts he was charged with to be true; but the question is, Whether they were crimes? for he was neither accused of rapine, cruelty, or bribery; but only of such things as may be expected in men who are of a sudden raised to an exalted degree of greatness. The duke of Somerset bore his fall with greater evenness of temper than his prosperity. During his imprisonment in the Tower he had recourse to study and reading: and meeting with a book that treated of patience, both from the principles of modern philosophy and christianity, he was so well pleased with it, that he ordered it to be translated into English, and writ a preface to it himself, mentioning the great comfort he had found in reading it, which had induced him to take care that others might reap the like benefit from it. Peter Martyr writ him also a long consolatory letter, which was printed both in Latin and in an English translation; and all the reformed, both in England and abroad, looked on his fall as a public loss to that whole interest which he had so steadily set forward.

On the second of January, 1550, a bill of attainder was issued against the duke with a confession signed by his own hand. But as
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some of the lords suspected that this confession had been extorted from him, and urged, that it was an ill president to pass acts upon such papers, without examining the party, whether he had subscribed them free and uncompelled; they sent four temporal lords, and four bishops, to examine him concerning it. The next day the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield made the report, that he thanked them for that kind message; but, that he had freely subscribed the confession which lay before them; that he had made it on his knees before the king and council, and had signed it on the thirteenth of December. He protested his offences had flowed from rashness and indiscretion rather than malice, and, that he had no treasonable design against the king or his realms. Whereupon he was fined by act of parliament in two thousand pounds a year in land, with the forfeiture to the king of all his goods, and the loss of all his places. So he was set at liberty on the sixth of February, 1553, giving a bond of ten thousand pounds for his good behaviour, with a restriction, that he should stay at the king's house at Sheen, or his own of Lion, and should not go four miles from them, nor come to the king or counsel, unless sent for. On the 16th of February following, he received his pardon, and, after that, behaved with so much humility, that he was, on the tenth of April following, restored to favour by the king, and sworn of the privy-council; and so the storm went over him more gently

gently than he expected. He forfeited, however, in a great measure, the esteem he had acquired among the people, who, not diving into the reasons of his conduct, could not help thinking him guilty, since he had confessed all : but the king judged otherwise, else he would not so soon have reinstated him in his favour.

The duke's ruin was only delayed, however. It was effected soon after, and one of the chief instruments in it was the earl of Warwick, who had joined with him in a near alliance ; the earl's eldest son, the lord Lisle, marrying the duke's daughter : so that there was then a prospect of happy times. But it resembled a deceitful calm, which is soon followed by an hideous storm. The earl of Warwick had formed an ambitious design to marry lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter to the marquis of Dorset, to Guilford, his fourth son, and so to get the crown to descend on them in case the king should die ; of which, it is thought, he resolved to take care.

In order to facilitate the execution of his projects, his first effort was to alienate the king's affections from his uncle, by means of certain emissaries, who beset him continually. The second, was to occasion his enemy such mortification, as should excite him to act in such a manner as would give a handle against him. These two methods succeeded to his wish ; and it is pretended, that the duke of Somerset seeing himself thus pushed, resolved

to kill the duke of Northumberland at a visit he was to make him. However, this may be, it cannot be denied, but he had contrived some plot to be restored to his post, and perhaps imparted to his confidants several expedients, which were imputed to him afterwards as so many crimes, though he had put none of them in execution. He owed his ruin to one of these confidants, who was, in all probability, bribed by his enemy. This man, Sir Thomas Palmer by name, having been secretly brought to the king, told him all he knew, and probably gave such a turn to his discourse, as to make the king believe, that the duke of Somerset would have assassinated the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, wherefore, he consented that he should be brought to his trial.

On the 17th of October, 1551, he was apprehended and sent to the Tower, and with him the lord Gray, Sir Thomas Vane, who had escaped over the river, but was taken in a stable in Lambeth, hid under the straw: Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir Ralph Arundel, were also taken, yet not sent at first to the Tower, but confined in their chambers. The day after, the dutchess of Somerset was likewise sent to the Tower, with one Crane and his wife, that had been much about her, and two of her chambermaids. After these, Sir Thomas Holdcroft, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Wingfield, Bannister, and Vaughan, were all made prisoners.

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As soon as the duke was in the Tower, his pretended crimes were spread abroad every where, with circumstances invented to impose upon the people. Upon these extravagant accusations, most historians have founded their accounts of this event. Dr. Burnet is the only one, whom we can depend upon with regard to the evidence against the duke : according to him, it appeared that he had made a party to get himself declared protector in the next parliament ; which the earl of Rutland did positively affirm, and the duke's answer served only to confirm it to be true. But though this might well inflame his enemies, yet it was no crime. As to the means which the duke of Somerset intended to make use of, in order to attain his ends, it is highly probable he had devised several, but had yet fixed upon none, except that, perhaps, of securing the duke of Northumberland's person.

On the first of December the duke of Somerset was brought to his trial ; the marquis of Winchester was lord high steward, the peers that judged being twenty-seven in number. The crimes with which he was charged, were cast into five several indictments, as it appears from the king's journal ; whether indictments or articles is not clear. That he had designed to have seized on the king's person, and so to have governed all his affairs ; and that he, with one hundred others, intended to have imprisoned the earl of Warwick, afterwards duke of Northampton ; and that he had designed to
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raise an insurrection in the city of London. Now, by the act that passed in the last parliament, if twelve persons should have assembled together to have killed any privy counsellor, and did not, upon proclamation, disperse themselves, it was treason ; or, if such twelve had been, by any malicious artifice, brought together, for any riot, and being warned, did not disperse themselves, it was felony without benefit of clergy, or sanctuary.

It seemed very strange, that three peers, Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, against the first of whom it was pretended in the indictment, that he had conspired, should sit his judges : for though, by the law, no peer can be challenged in a trial, yet the law of nations, that is superior to all other laws, makes, that a man cannot be judge in his own cause ; and, what is very extraordinary, the lord-chancellor, though then a peer, was left out of the number ; but it seems probable, that the reconciliation between him and the duke of Somerset was then suspected, and that he was therefore excluded from the number of his judges.

The duke of Somerset being, it seems, little acquainted with the laws of the land, did not desire council to plead or assist him in point of law, but only answered to matters of fact. He began his defence, by requesting, that no advantage might be taken against him, for any idle word, or passionate expression, that might have at any time escaped him. He

protested, he never intended to have raised the northern parts; but had only, upon some reports, sent to Sir William Herbert, to intreat him to be his friend: that he had never formed a resolution to kill the duke of Northumberland, or any other person, but had only talked of it, without any intention of doing it: that, for the design of destroying the guards, it was ridiculous to think, that he, with a small troop, could destroy so strong a body of men, consisting of nine hundred; in which, though he had succeeded, it could have signified nothing: that he never intended to have raised any disturbances in London, but had always looked upon it as a place in which he was in perfect security: that his having men about him in Greenwich was with no ill design, since he did no mischief with them, even when it was in his own power; but, upon his attachment, rendered himself prisoner, without making any resistance. He likewise objected many things against the witnesses, and desired they might be brought face to face. He spoke much against Sir Thomas Palmer, the chief witness, in particular. But the witnesses were not brought, only their examinations were read. Upon this, the king's council pleaded against him, that to levy war was certainly treason: that, to assemble men, with an intention to kill privy-counsellors, was also treason: that to have men about him to resist the attachment, was felony; and, to assault the lords, or contrive their deaths, was felony.

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When the peers withdrew, it seems, the proofs about his design of raising the north, or the city, or killing the guards, did not satisfy them. For all these had been, without all question, treasonable; so they held to that point of conspiring to imprison the duke of Northumberland. If he, with twelve men about him, had conspired to do that, and had continued together after proclamation, it was certainly felony; but that not being pretended, it seems there was no proclamation made. The duke of Suffolk was of opinion, that no contention among private subjects should be on any account screwed up to be high treason. The duke of Northumberland said, he would never consent that any practice against him should be reputed treason. After a great difference of opinion, they all acquitted him of treason; but the greater number found him guilty of felony; in which sentence they proceeded, in all appearance, upon a statute made in the time of Henry VII. which declared it felony to intend to take away the life of a privy-counsellor. This was stretching very far that severe law, which, perhaps, had never been executed before, especially against a duke, peer of the realm, and uncle to the king.

The duke behaved, during the whole time of his trial, with great temper and patience: when sentence was given, he thanked the lords for their favour, and asked pardon of the dukes of Northumberland, Northampton,

and Pembroke, for his ill intentions against them ; and made suit for his life, for his wife, and children. He was then carried back to the Tower. Whether this asking of the lords' pardon amounted to a full confession of guilt, or was only a compliment to them, that they might not obstruct his pardon, is but a matter of conjecture. He confessed he had spoken of killing them, and this made it reasonable enough to ask their pardon, though it does not imply a confession of the crime.

The duke of Somerset was so beloved by the people, that, when those who were present at his trial saw he was returned not guilty of treason, they shouted for joy so loud, that they were heard at Charing-cross. All people thought, that, being acquitted of treason, and there being no felonious action done by him, but only an intention of one, and that only of imprisoning a peer, proved, that one so near in blood to the king would never be put to death upon such an occasion. But his execution was not deferred quite two months ; so great care had been taken to prepossess the king against him, that young Edward, who abhorred the crimes he believed him guilty of, was very far from any thoughts of granting him a pardon. The duke of Somerset was in hopes, however, of undeceiving the king. He had already engaged the lord-chancellor to be his friend, who, through a mistake in the superscription of a note he sent to the duke, discovered his design to use his endeavours for him.

him. This occasioned the great seals being taken from him, and given to the bishop of Ely.

As soon as the duke had received his sentence, great pains were taken to entertain the king with pleasing sights, that he might not reflect upon this strange condemnation. At the same time, all the duke's, his uncle's, friends, were carefully prevented from coming near him. An order was sent for beheading the duke of Somerset on the 22d of January, on which day he was brought to the place of execution on Tower-hill. His whole deportment was very composed, and no way changed from what it had ordinarily been. He first kneeled down, and prayed, and then he spake to the people in these words. "Dearly beloved friends, I am brought here to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against the king, neither by word or deed, and have always been as faithful and true to this realm, as any man hath been. But, for so much as I am by law condemned to die, I do acknowledge myself, as well as others, to be subject thereto: wherefore, to testify my obedience, which I owe unto the laws, I am come hither to suffer death, whereunto I willingly offer myself, with most hearty thanks to God, that hath given me this time of repentance, who might, through sudden death, have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him, nor myself. Moreover, there is yet somewhat that I must put you in

mind of, as touching Christian religion, which, so long as I was in authority, I always diligently set forth, and furthered to my power; neither repent I of my doings, but rejoice therein, since that now the state of Christian religion cometh most near unto the form and order of the primitive church, which thing I esteem as a great benefit given of God, both to you and me; most heartily exhorting you all, that this, which is purely set forth to you, you will, with like thankfulness, accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living; which thing, if you do not, without doubt, greater mischief and calamity will follow."

When he had gone so far, there was an extraordinary noise heard, as if some house had been blown up with gunpowder, which frightened all the people, so that many run away, they knew not for what; and the relator, who tarried still, says, it brought into his remembrance the astonishment the band was in that came to take our Saviour, who thereupon fell backwards to the ground.

At the same time, Sir Anthony Brown came riding towards the scaffold, and they all hoped he had brought a pardon; upon which there was a general shouting, "Pardon, pardon; God save the king;" many throwing up their caps; by which the duke might well perceive how dear he was to the people. But, as soon as these disorders were over, he made a sign to them with his hand to compose themselves,

themselves, and then went on in his speech thus :

“ Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter here in hand, as you vainly hope or believe. It seemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient to. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer : and let us now join in prayer to the Lord, for the preservation of the king’s majesty, unto whom, hitherto, I have always shewed myself a most faithful and firm subject. I have always been most diligent about his majesty, in his affairs both at home and abroad ; and no less diligent in seeking the common commodity of the whole realm ; ” (upon this the people cried out, it was most true) “ unto whose majesty I wish continual health, with all felicity, and all prosperous success. Moreover, I do wish unto all his counsellors, the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule, in all things uprightly with justice ; unto whom I exhort you all, in the Lord, to shew yourselves obedient, as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation ; and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the king’s majesty. Moreover, for as much as heretofore I have had affairs with divers men, and hard it is to please every man ; therefore, if there have been any that have been offended or injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness ; but espe-

cially Almighty God, whom, throughout all my life, I have most grievously offended : and all other, whatsoever they be, that have offended me, I do, with my whole heart, forgive them."

Then he desired them to be quiet, lest their tumults might trouble him, and said, " Albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering ; and, through your quietness, I shall be much more quiet. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness, that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ, desiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same to my life's end."

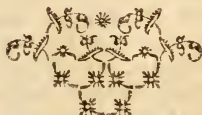
Then Dr. Cox, who was with him on the scaffold, put a paper into his hand, which was a prayer he had prepared for him. He read it on his knees, then he took leave of all about him, and undressed himself to be fitted for the axe. In all which there appeared no change in him, only his face was a little ruddier than ordinary. He continued calling " Lord Jesus save me," till the executioner severed his head from his body.

The duke of Somerset, (says a good writer) was a person of great virtues, eminent for piety, humble, and affable in his greatness ; sincere and candid in all his transactions. He was a better captain, than a counsellor ; had been oft successful in his undertakings ; was always careful of the poor and the oppressed ; and, in a word, had as many virtues, and as few

few faults, as most great men, especially when they were so unexpectedly advanced, have ever had.

The people were generally much affected with this execution, and many threw handkerchiefs into his blood, to preserve it in remembrance of him.

S. J.



THE LIFE OF
SEBASTIAN CABOT.

THIS gentleman was the son of an eminent Venetian pilot, Sir John Cabot. He was born at Bristol, about the year 1477; and therefore Mr. Strype is mistaken when he tells us he was an Italian; into which he was led by the name he met with in the M. S. from which he copied his remarks: viz. Sebastiano Cabato: an inaccuracy common enough with our old writers, who affected to vary foreign names strangely: a folly with which the French are still infected; insomuch that it is a difficult thing to understand English proper names, even in their latest and best historians.

Sebastian was educated by his father in the study of those parts of the mathematics which were then best understood, especially arithmetic, geometry, and cosmography; and, by that time he was seventeen years old, he had made several trips to sea, in order to add to his theoretical notions a competent skill in the practical part of navigation: and, in like manner, were bred the rest of his father's sons, who became also eminent men, and settled abroad; one in Genoa, the other at Venice.

The



J. Wilsch delin

J. Kneass sculp

Sebast.ⁿ Cabbot 1.st English Sailor



The first voyage of consequence in which Sebastian Cabot was engaged, seems to have been that made by his father for the discovery of the North-west Passage. This was in 1497, and certainly first taught our seamen a passage to North-America; but whether Sebastian Cabot did not, after the decease of his father, prosecute his design, and make a more perfect discovery of the coasts of the Newfoundland, is a great doubt with us, because we find such incongruous relations of this voyage, in different authors: for instance, the celebrated Peter Martyr, who was intimately acquainted with Sebastian, and wrote in a manner from his own mouth, says, That the voyage wherein he made his great discovery towards the north, was performed in two ships, fitted out at his own expence; which by no means agree with his father's expedition, wherein were employed one stout ship of the king's, and four belonging to the merchants of Bristol. Besides this, a very intelligent Spanish writer, who is very exact in his chronology, tells us, that, when Cabot sailed, at the expence of king Henry VII. in order to make discoveries towards the north, he passed beyond Cape la Brader, somewhat more than 48 N. L. then turning towards the west, he sailed along the coast to 38; which agrees very well with the accounts of John Cabot's voyage. But Ramusio, the Italian collector, who had the letter of Sebastian Cabot before him when he wrote, speaks of
a voyage

a voyage, wherein he failed north-and-by-west to 67; and would have proceeded farther if he had not been hindered by a mutiny among his sailors.

It is probable, therefore, that Sebastian made more than either one or two voyages into those parts, by virtue of the commission of king Henry VII. and, if so, he well deserved the character Sir William Monson has given of him, and of his important discoveries; which the reader will be pleased to see in his own words, the authority of the writer, from his perfect knowledge of the subject, being of as much weight as the facts he mentions.

“ To come to the particulars,” says he,
 “ of augmentation of our trade, of our plan-
 “ tations, and our discoveries, because every
 “ man shall have his due therein, I will be-
 “ gin with Newfoundland, lying upon the
 “ main continent of America, which the king
 “ of Spain challenges as first discoverer: but,
 “ as we acknowledge the king of Spain the
 “ first light of the west and south-west parts of
 “ America, so we, and all the world, must
 “ confess, that we were the first that took
 “ possession for the crown of England of the
 “ north part thereof; and not above two years
 “ difference between them and the other:
 “ and, as the Spaniards have, from that day
 “ and year, held their possession in the west,
 “ so have we done the like in the north;
 “ and, though there is no respect in compari-
 “ son of the wealth, betwixt the countries,
 “ yet

“ yet England may boast that the discovery,
 “ from the year aforesaid, to this very day,
 “ hath offered the subjects annually one hun-
 “ dred and twenty thousand pounds ; and en-
 “ creased the number of many a good ship and
 “ mariners, as our western ports can witness,
 “ by their fishing in Newfoundland. Neither
 “ can Spain challenge a more natural right
 “ than we to its discovery ; for in that case we
 “ are both alike.

“ If we deal truly with others, and not de-
 “ prive them of their right, it is Italy that
 “ must assume the discovery to itself, as well
 “ in the one part of America, as in the other
 “ Genoa ; and Christopher Columbus, by
 “ name, must carry away the praise of it from
 “ Spain ; for Spain had not that voyage in
 “ agitation, or the thought of it, till Colum-
 “ bus not only proposed but accomplished
 “ it.”

“ The like may be said of Sebastian Cabot,
 “ a Venetian, who, by his earnest intercession
 “ to Henry VII. drew him to the discovery of
 “ Newfoundland, and called it by the name
 “ of Bacallao, an Indian name for fish, for
 “ the abundance of fish he found upon the
 “ coast.”

If this worthy man had performed nothing
 more, his name ought surely to be transmitted
 to future times with honour ; since it clearly
 appears, that Newfoundland hath been a source
 of riches and naval power to this nation, from
 the time it was discovered, as well as the first
 of

of our plantations : so that, with strict justice, it may be said of Sebastian Cabot, that he was the author of our maritime strength, and opened the way to those improvements which have rendered us since so great, so flourishing, a people. Yet we have no distinct accounts of what he advised, or what he performed, for upwards of twenty years together ; wherein, certainly, so able a man could never have been idle.

The next news we hear of him, is in the eighth of king Henry VIII. and our accounts then are none of the clearest. It seems that Cabot had entered into a strict correspondence with Sir Thomas Pert, at this time vice-admiral of England, who had a house at Poplar, and procured him a good ship of the king's, in order to make discoveries : but it looks as if he had now changed his route, and intended to have passed by the South to the East-Indies ; for he sailed first to Brazil, and, missing there of his purpose, shaped his course for the islands of Hispaniola and Porto Rico, where he carried on some traffic ; and then returned, failing absolutely in the design upon which he went ; not through any want either of courage or conduct in himself, but from the fear and faint-heartedness of Sir Thomas Pert, his coadjutor ; of which we have abundant testimony from the writings of a person who lived in those times.

This disappointment, in all probability, inclined Sebastian Cabot to leave England, and

to go over to Spain; where he was treated with very great respect, and raised as high as his profession would permit; being declared pilot-major, or chief-pilot, of Spain; and by his office intrusted with the reviewing all projects for discovery; which, in those days, were many and important.

His great capacity, and approved integrity, induced many rich merchants to treat with him, in the year 1524, about a voyage to be undertaken, at their expence, by the new-found passage of Magellan, to the Moluccos; which, at length, he accepted; and of which we have a clear account in the writings of the Spanish historian Herrera.

He sailed, says he, about the beginning of April, 1525, first to the Canaries, then to the islands of Cape Verde, thence to Cape Augustin and the island of Patos, or Geese; and near Bahia de Todos Los Santos, or the Bay of All Saints, he met a French ship. He was said to have managed but indiscreetly, as wanting provisions when he came to the island; but there the Indians were very kind, and supplied him with provisions for all his ships; but he requited them very indifferently, carrying away with him, by force, four sons of the principal men.

Thence he proceeded to the River of Plate, having left ashore, on a desert island, Martin Mendez, his vice-admiral, captain Francis de Rojas, and Michael de Rodas, because they censured his management; and, in conclusion,

sion, he went not to the Spice-islands ; as well because he had not provisions, as by reason the men would not sail under him, fearing his conduct of the vessel in the Straits.

He sailed up the river of Plate, and, above thirty leagues above the mouth, found an island which he called St. Gabriel, about a league in compass, and half a league from the continent towards Brazil. There he anchored, and rowing with the boats three leagues higher, discovered a river he called San Salvador, or St. Saviour ; very deep, and a safe harbour for the ships on the same side ; whither he brought up his vessels and unloaded them, because at the mouth of the river there was not much water.

Having built a fort, and left some men in it, he resolved to proceed up that river with boats and a flat-bottom caravel, in order to make discoveries, thinking that, although he did not pass through the Straits to the Spice-islands, his voyage would not be altogether fruitless.

Having advanced thirty leagues, he came to a river called Zacarana ; and finding the natives thereabouts a good rational people, he erected another fort, calling it Santi Spiritus ; i. e. of the Holy Ghost ; and his followers by another name ; viz. Cabot's Fort. He thence discovered the shore of the river Parana, which is that called Plate, where he found many islands and rivers ; and keeping along the
greatest

greatest stream, at the end of two hundred leagues came up to another river, which the Indians call Paraguay, and left the great river on the right, thinking it bent towards the coast of Brazil; and, running up thirty-four leagues, found people tilling the ground: a thing which, in those parts, he had not seen before. There he met with so much opposition, that he advanced no farther, but killed many Indians, and they slew twenty-five of his Spaniards, and took three, that were gone to gather palmetos to eat.

At the same time Cabot was thus employed, James Garcia, with the same view of making discoveries, had entered the river of Plate without knowing that the other was there before him. He entered the said river about the beginning of the year 1527, having sent away his own, which was a large ship, alledging that it was of too great a burthen for that discovery; and, with the rest, came to an anchor in the same place where Cabot's ship lay, directing his course, with two brigantines and sixty men, towards the river Parana, which lies north and north-west, arrived at the fort built by Cabot. About one hundred and ten leagues above this fort, he found Sebastian Cabot himself in the port of St. Anne; so named by the latter; and, after a short stay there, they returned together to the fort of the Holy Ghost; and thence sent messengers into Spain.

Those

Those who were dispatched by Sebastian Cabot were, Francis Calderon and George Barlow, who gave a very fair account of the fine countries bordering on the river La Plata, shewing how large a tract of land he had not only discovered, but subdued, and producing gold, silver, and other rich commodities, as evidences in favour of their general conduct. The demands they made were, that a supply should be sent of provision, amunition, goods proper to carry on a trade, and a competent recruit of seamen and soldiers. To this the merchants, by whom Cabot's squadron was fitted out, would not agree, but chose to let their rights escheat to the crown of Castile. The king then took the whole upon himself, but was so dilatory in his preparations, that Sebastian Cabot, quite tired out, as having been five years in America, resolved to return home, which he did, embarking the remainder of his men, and all his effects, on board the largest of his ships, and leaving the rest behind him.

It was the spring of the year 1531, when Cabot arrived at the Spanish court, and gave an account of his expedition. It is evident enough, from the manner in which the Spanish writers speak of him, that he was not well received; and one may easily account for it. He had raised himself enemies by treating his Spanish mutineers with so much severity; and, on the other hand, his owners were disappointed by his not pursuing his
voyage.

voyage to the Moluccos. He kept his place, however, and remained in the service of Spain many years after, and, at length, he was invited over to England. We have no account how this was brought about in any author now extant, and therefore we shall offer to the reader's consideration a conjecture of our own, which he may receive or reject, according as it seems to him probable or improbable. Mr. Robert Thorne, an English merchant at Seville, was intimately acquainted with Cabot, and was actually one of his owners in his last expedition. It seems, therefore, not at all unlikely, that he, after his return from Newfoundland, might importune Cabot to think of coming home; and what seems to add a greater appearance of truth to this conjecture, is Cabot's settling at Bristol, when he did return to England, of which city Mr. Thorne was an eminent merchant, and once mayor. These transactions fell out in the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. about which time, as we suppose, Sebastian Cabot actually returned, and settled with his family here.

In the very beginning of king Edward's reign, this eminent seaman was introduced to the duke of Somerset, with whom he was in great favour, and by whom he was made known to the king, who took a great deal of pleasure in his conversation, being much better versed in the studies to which

Cabot

Cabot had applied himself, than, his tender years considered, could have been expected ; for he knew not only all the ports and havens in this island, and in Ireland, but also those in France, their shape, method of entering commodities and incommoities, and, in short, could answer almost any question about them that a sailor could ask. We need not wonder, therefore, that with such a prince Cabot was in high esteem, or that, in his favour, a new office should be erected, equivalent to that which he had enjoyed in Spain, together with a pension of 166 l. 13 s. 4 d. which we find granted to him by letters patent, dated January 6, 1549, in the second year of that king's reign, by a special clause in which patent, this annuity is made to commence from the Michaelmas preceding. Thence forward he continued highly in the king's favour, and was consulted upon all matters relating to trade, particularly in the great case of the merchants of the Steel-yard in 1551, of which it will be fit to give some account here, since it has escaped the notice of most of our historians, tho' it gave, in some measure, a new turn to the whole state of our commerce.

These merchants are sometimes called of the Haunse, because they came from the Haunse towns, or free cities of Germany ; sometimes Almain, from their country. They settled here in or before the reign of Henry III. and brought in grain, cordage, flax, hemp, linen cloth, wax, and steel, whence the place in
Dowgate-

Dowgate-ward, where they dwelt, was called the Steel-yard, which name it still retains. The kings of England encouraged them at first, and granted them large privileges; amongst others, that of exporting our woollen cloths. They had likewise an alderman, who was their chief magistrate; and, in consideration of various grants from the city, they stood bound to repair bishopsgate, and were likewise under other obligations. By degrees, however, the English coming to trade themselves, and importing many of the commodities in which these Germans dealt, great controversies grew between them; the foreigners, on all occasions, pleading their charter, which the English merchants treated as a monopoly not well warranted by law. At last, the company of merchant adventurers, at the head of which was our Sebastian Cabot, on the 29th of December, 1551, exhibited to the council an information against these merchants of the Steel-yard, to which they were directed to put in their answer; they did so, and, after several hearings, and a reference to the king's solicitor-general, his council learned in the law, and the recorder of London, a decree passed, on the 24th of February, whereby these merchants of the Steel-yard were declared to be no legal corporation; yet, licenses were afterwards granted them, from time to time, for the exportation and importation of goods, notwithstanding

withstanding this decree, which remained still in full force and virtue.

In the month of May, 1552, the king granted a license, together with letters of safe conduct, to such persons as should embark on board three ships, to be employed for the discovery by the north to the East Indies. Sebastian Cabot was at that time governor of the company of merchant adventurers, on whose advice this enterprize was undertaken, and by whose interest this countenance from the court was procured. The accounts we have of this matter differ widely ; but, as we observe there is a variation in the dates of a whole year, so we are apt to believe, that there must have been two distinct undertakings, the one under the immediate protection of the court, which did not take effect ; and the other, by a joint stock of the merchants, which did. The first, because it is little taken notice of, we will particularly relate here.

When this matter was first proposed, the king lent two ships, the *Primrose* and the *Moon*, to Barnes, lord-mayor of London, Mr. Garret, one of the sheriffs, and Mr. York and Mr. Wyndham, two of the adventurers, giving bond to the king, to deliver two ships of like burden, and in as good condition, at Midsummer, 1554. In consideration also of the expence and trouble of Sebastian Cabot, his majesty made him a present of two hundred pounds. A year afterwards

wards, this grand undertaking was brought to bear, and thereupon Sebastian Cabot delivered to the commander in chief those directions by which he was to regulate his conduct, the title of which ran thus : “ Ordinances, instructions, and advertisements, of and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay, compiled, made, and delivered, by the right worshipful Sebastian Cabot, Esq. governor of the mystery and company of the merchant adventurers, for the discovery of regions, dominions, islands, and places unknown, the ninth of May, in the year of our Lord God 1553.” This shews how great a trust was reposed in this gentleman by the government, and by the merchants of England ; and the instructions themselves, which we still have entire, are the clearest proofs of his sagacity and penetration, and the fullest justification of such as did repose their trust in him. Many have surmised, that he was a knight, whence we often find him stiled Sir Sebastian ; but the very title of those instructions we have cited, proves the contrary ; as also the charter granted by king Philip and queen Mary, in the first year of their reign, to the merchants of Russia, since stiled the Russia company, whereby Sebastian Cabot is made governor for life, on account of his being principally concerned in fitting out the first ships employed in that trade ; but so far from being stiled knight, that he is called only one Sebastian Cabot, without any distinction at all.

After

After this, we find him very active in the affairs of the company in the year 1556; and in the journal of Mr. Stephen Burroughs it is observed, that on the 27th of April that year, he went down to Gravesend, and there went aboard the Search-thrift, a small vessel, fitted out under the command of the said Burroughs, for Russia, where he gave generously to the sailors, and, on his return to Gravesend, he extended his alms very liberally to the poor, desiring them to pray for the success of this voyage. We find it also remarked, (which shews the chearful temper of the man) that, upon his coming back to Gravesend, he caused a grand entertainment to be made at the sign of the Christopher, where, says Mr. Burroughs; for the very joy he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entered into the dance himself. This is the last circumstance relating to Cabot that we can any where find; and as it is certain, that a person of his temper could not have been idle, or his actions remain in obscurity, so we look upon it as certain, that he died some time in this or the next year, when he was upwards of seventy. He was unquestionably one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived, and one who, by his capacity and industry, contributed not a little to the service of mankind in general, as well as of this kingdom. For he was the first who took notice of the variation of the compass, which is of such vast consequence in navigation, and concerning

cerning which the learned have busied themselves in their enquiries ever since. An Italian writer, famous for making the most judicious collection of voyages which hath hitherto appeared, celebrates Sebastian Cabot as his countryman ; yet, as he was ours both by nature and affection, and as we owe so much to his skill and labours, we thought it but just to give his memoirs a place here, amongst those of the most eminent Britons, the rather because he has been hitherto strangely neglected by our biographers, as well as by our general historians : and we hope our readers will accept, in good part, of a life in itself but barren of incidents, as it must be a satisfaction to all lovers of their country, to know the little which remains upon record of one of the first discoverers of North America ; a territory, at present, held to be of so much consequence to the British nation, and in the preserving of which it has lately expended such quantities of blood and treasure.



THE LIFE OF

JOHN DUDLEY.

JOHN DUDLEY, whose life we are now about writing, was son to Edmund Dudley, Esq. one of the chief instruments of the oppressions of Henry VII. and is, by many of our historians, reputed the most powerful subject that ever flourished in this kingdom. He was born in the year 1502, and was about eight years of age when his father was put to death: but it was the general opinion, that the severity exercised upon that occasion was rather to satisfy the people than justice; wherefore, John Dudley, by Edmund Guilford, esquire of the body to the king, his guardian, petitioned the parliament, that the attainder of Edmund Dudley might be reversed, and himself restored in blood; which was granted without difficulty, and a special act passed for that purpose in 1511. Particular care was taken of his education, by a mother, equally distinguished for her virtues and high birth, and by a guardian, who had the reputation of being one of the most accomplished gentlemen in a court then celebrated as the politest in Europe.

When his mother, by the king's consent, married Arthur Plantagenet, who, in her right, was created viscount L'Isle, which was about the



S. W. delin.

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Dudley D.^h of Northumberland



the year 1523, John Dudley was brought to court, and, being a young gentleman of a fine person and extraordinary endowments, he attended the king's favourite, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, in his expedition to France, where his gallant behaviour not only entitled him to the particular notice of his noble general, but procured him likewise the honour of knighthood. It is natural to imagine, that upon his return he was very well received at court, having many relations, who had great influence there; but, it seems, he relied chiefly on his own abilities, and very wisely attached himself to the king's first minister, cardinal Wolsey, whom he accompanied in his expedition to France, in the nineteenth year of that reign; and availing himself of the advantages which this afforded, entered, not long after, into the king's service, as appears from a patent granted him for the office of the master of the armoury in the Tower, with the allowance of a groom. His hopes of preferment at court, however, did not hinder him from attending to his concerns in the country, where he was very assiduous in improving his interest with the gentry, and, in 1536, was nominated sheriff of Staffordshire. He lived hospitably, and had the good will of his neighbours in a much higher degree, than when he was exalted to a far superior station. Two years after this, he entered himself into the society of Gray's-Inn, but it does not seem in the least probable, that he ever studied the

law there, as his father had done, tho' some authority might be alledged in support of it. The court was still his place of residence, and Wolfey afforded him his patronage as long as he was in power. He was likewise in high favour with Thomas lord Cromwel, who succeeded the cardinal in the ministry, so that upon the arrival of Anne of Cleves, whom that minister had engaged the king to marry, when Cromwell was advanced to the dignity of earl of Essex and great chamberlain of England, he was made master of the horse to the intended queen. We are told, indeed, that this great man, who did not rise over-hastily at the beginning, took a great deal of pains to qualify himself for the king's service; in order to which he made a tour to Italy, and remained some time at Rome, as, with the like design, he visited France; by which means he became a very complete courtier, and capable of employment of very different kinds. But he never made a greater figure, than on the first of May, 1539, when he was the first of challengers in the triumphant tournament held at Westminster, in which he appeared with great magnificence. This tournament had been proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain, for all comers to try their prowess against the English challengers, who were Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Thomas Poynings, Sir John Carew, knights; Anthony Kingston, and Richard Cromwell, esquires. These challengers came
into

into the lists richly dressed, preceded by a band of knights and gentlemen, cloathed in white velvet. The first day there were forty-six defendants, amongst whom were the earl of Surry, Lord William Howard, Lord Clinton, and Lord Cromwell, son to the prime minister, who was, a little before, created earl of Essex. Sir John Dudley, by some mischance of his horse, had the misfortune to be overthrown by one Mr. Breme; however, he mounted again, and performed very gallantly. After this was over, the challengers rode in state to Durham-house, where they entertained the king, queen, and court. On the second day of May, Anthony Kingston, and Richard Cromwell were made knights. On the third, the challengers fought on horseback with swords, against twenty-nine defendants. Sir John Dudley and the earl of Surry running first with equal advantage. On the fifth of May they fought on foot at the barriers against thirty defendants. In the course of these military diversions, the challengers, at a vast expence, entertained both houses of parliament, the lord-mayor, aldermen and their wives, and all the persons of distinction then in town; as a reward for which, the king gave to each of them a house and an hundred marks a-year for ever, out of the revenues of the knights of Rhodes, which had been given to his majesty by the parliament then sitting.

The fall of the earl of Essex, which happened soon after, did not in the least affect the

favour or fortune of Sir John Dudley. This very clearly appeared soon after the death of his father-in-law, when the king, by letters patent, bearing date the twelfth of March, 1542, raised him to the dignity of viscount L' Isle, with very singular marks of his esteem and consideration. At the next festival of St. George, he was also elected knight of the garter ; but this was soon after followed by a much higher instance, both of kindness and trust ; indeed, such an instance as had scarce any example in former times, and has not been considered as a precedent fit to follow in those that have succeeded ; for the king, considering his prudence, his courage, and his activity, as well as the occasion he had, and was like to have, for a man of such consequence in that office, constituted him lord high admiral of England for life.

The next year he commanded a fleet of two hundred sail, with which he proceeded to the Scotch coasts, where he performed all the service that was expected from him, and having landed his forces, marched through the southern provinces of Scotland by land, and most effectually restored the tranquility of the marches. He next embarked for France, and on the 28th of July, 1543, appeared before Boulogne, then besieged by king Henry VIII. in person, and, by his great diligence and courage, facilitated very much the taking of the place, of which the king left him the charge, with the title of his lieutenant. In
this

this important employment he did more than his master had reason to expect, and as much as the nation or himself could desire : He was present in most of the attacks, and had there the misfortune to lose his eldest son. The place was surrendered on the fourteenth of September, and, on the eighteenth, the king made his public entry into it, and soon after delivered the keys of the place to the lord admiral, with the title of governor ; and, upon his embarking for England, on the thirtieth of the same month, declared him his lieutenant-general.

On the 27th of March, 1546, the king declared him, by a patent, lieutenant-general and commander in chief of all his forces at sea, for the more effectual carrying on of the war against France ; and this at a time when the French, by the help of money, and alliances with the maritime powers of Europe, had drawn together a very great naval force, and threatened to make the English feel the weight of it, not only at sea, but by covering an invasion which they had long meditated ; all which vast designs were frustrated by the courage and conduct of the lord viscount I.'Isle, with a force much inferior to theirs. The same year, he was, together with Cuthbert Tonsall, bishop of Durham, and Dr. Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York, appointed a commissioner to take the oath of Francis, the French king, for observing the treaty of peace, signed June the seventh, which

he performed with great solemnity. On the sixteenth of October following he was, together with many other persons of rank, named in a commission for settling the accompts of the army. This was one of the last services he performed in the reign of that great prince, to whom he owed all his honours and fortune, receiving from him, towards the close of his reign, very large grants of church lands, which delivered him from the inconveniencies that must otherwise have ensued from his unbounded generosity; which grants, however, created him many enemies.

The king's health daily declining, his majesty named Sir John Dudley, lord viscount L'Isle, one of his sixteen executors, and gave him also a legacy of five hundred pounds, which was the highest that he bestowed on any of them; and in the succeeding reign, the earl of Hertford being declared protector, and, amongst the first of his projects, endeavouring to get his brother, Sir Thomas Seymour, made high admiral, in his favour the lord viscount L'Isle resigned, not willingly to be sure, but upon the best terms he could make. Accordingly, on the 17th of February, 1547, the very same day that the new lord admiral's patent passed, he was created earl of Warwick, and made great chamberlain of England; neither was it long before he had great grants from the crown, particularly Warwick-castle and manor.

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This has occasioned several writers to represent the promotions made, and titles conferred about this time, as proceeding from his intrigues ; whereas, in truth, he had a title by descent to the earldom of Warwick : king Henry VIII. intended to have created him earl of Coventry, and the new king's coronation made it natural to do something extraordinary to grace it. Going with the protector into Scotland, in quality of his lieutenant-general, in that expedition he added greatly to the reputation which he had already acquired, as even his enemies themselves confess, being the chief author of the victory which was then obtained, and would also have pushed the war to a glorious conclusion, if he had been entrusted with the sole command ; as it was, his conduct was universally commended, and all the blame fell elsewhere.

At that time the protector had so good an opinion of the earl of Warwick, that he left him behind in the north to treat with the Scots, which proved indeed a thing of no consequence, as the Scots never intended to treat, but made that proposal to the duke of Somerset, only to gain time, as the duke accepted it, because it afforded him a fair pretence for returning to England.

He was next employed by the duke of Somerset, lord protector, in conjunction with many other honourable persons, to compromise matters with the French, who, after the death of king Henry, were very desirous of

getting Boulogn into their hands, which it was of great consequence to the protector to prevent, and yet to avoid, if possible, engaging in a war; both which ends were effected for the present; to which the industry and authority of the earl of Warwick did not a little contribute.

It was this activity of his in business, which was generally attended with success, that chiefly recommended him to the protector Somerset, who certainly had much slowness and timidity in his nature; which made him admire men of quick parts and solid abilities, whose advice he used from time to time, but more especially listened to the councils of Warwick, who, when the rebels were in Norfolk, was dispatched thither with an army of six thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, which was to have been employed against the Scots.

He preserved Norwich with some difficulty, and afterwards fought the rebels, who, both in drawing up their men, and in the course of the action, behaved much better than could have been expected from such raw soldiers. The earl, however, defeated them, and killed about a thousand men; other writers say many more.

This greatly discouraged, but did not dissipate them; on the contrary, they collected all their scattered parties, and offered him battle a second time. The earl marched directly towards them; but, when he was on the very point of engaging, he sent them a message,

“ That

“ That he was very sorry to see so much courage expressed in so bad a cause; but, notwithstanding what was passed, they might depend on the king’s pardon, upon delivering up their leaders.” To which they answered, “ That he was a nobleman of so much worth and generosity, that, if they might have this assurance from his own mouth, they were willing to submit.” The earl accordingly went amongst them; upon which they threw down their arms, delivered up Robert Ket and his brother William, with the rest of their chiefs, who were hanged: upon hearing which the Yorkshire rebels dispersed; and, on the removal of the duke of Somerset from his office, the earl of Warwick was again made lord-high-admiral, by the king’s letters patent, with very extensive powers.

If we consider the removal of the lord-protector Somerset from the government, as it is stated by Stowe, and other plain writers, it will appear, that the far greatest part of the king’s council concurred in that measure, and offered very plausible reasons for so doing. Sir John Hayward is very clear, that the whole was a contrivance of the earl of Warwick’s; that the rest were but his tools; and, that the articles objected against the protector were invented to make him odious.

It is very true, that, when the council met to take this bold step of pulling down the king’s uncle, it was at Ely-house, where the earl of Warwick then resided; yet it no where

appears that he was at the head of this business ; nor indeed could he be, when the lord-chancellor Rich, and the lord St. John, who was president of the council, were at all the consultations. When the lords went to the king, to justify their complaints, the earl of Warwick went not with them ; which Sir John Hayward says was a piece of craft. It might be so, and it might also be the effects of tenderness and modesty. He was appointed by the council one of the lords to attend upon the king's person ; which was a great honour ; but then he shared it with five others.

Sir John Hayward speaks much of his secret conferences with the earls of Arundel and Southampton ; and affirms, that, not being able to work these great peers to serve his purposes, he got them both excluded from the council. Bishop Burnet is quite of another opinion : he suggests, that the papists were in hopes of making some very great advantage by this notable change in the government, because they were sure of the other two earls, and had a favourable opinion of Warwick. But it seems that he was a very great politician : he saw that the king was a firm protestant, and perhaps he made it a rule with him to be of the religion of the crown ; so that it is very likely his conferences with Arundel and Southampton might be upon this subject, Whether it was best to stop the reformation of religion, or to promote it ? And there is nothing more certain, than, that in this they differed ;

differed ; that the two earls were for the old popish road, but the earl of Warwick was for marching in the king's high-way ; and therefore it is no wonder that he procured their exclusion from councils, in which he was determined to lead, and knew very well that they were not inclined to follow.

He stood, at this time, so high in the king's favour, and had settled so firm a friendship with the rest of the lords of the council, that nothing was done but by his advice or consent ; to which, therefore, we must attribute the release of the duke of Somerset out of the Tower, and restoring him to some share of power and favour at court. The king was much pleased with this ; and, being desirous that the friendship of these two great men should not be barely in appearance, a marriage was proposed between the eldest son of the earl of Warwick and the lady Anne Seymour, daughter to the duke of Somerset ; which, at length, was brought to bear ; and, on the 3d of June, 1550, was solemnized in the king's presence, who expressed great satisfaction thereat.

The king's favour to him still continued, or rather increased ; so that, upon surrendering the office of lord-high-chamberlain of England, which was bestowed upon the marquis of Northampton, the king was pleased to make him lord-steward of his household by letters patents, highly expressive of his majesty's affection and esteem.

At this time he was looked upon as so warm a protestant, that the most zealous divines had recourse to his favour and protection. Amongst the rest, the famous Dr. Hooper, about that time appointed bishop of Gloucester, who scrupled much the wearing the episcopal habit; and for whom the earl, out of respect to the tenderness of his conscience, actually interposed; but afterwards, when the earl became better acquainted with the state of the question, and was made sensible of the consequences that might follow from indulging such a singularity in sentiments, he withdrew his protection, and Dr. Hooper was forced to submit. On the other hand, though it is certain that Dr. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, wrote him a letter of compliment after the fall of the protector; yet he never shewed him any countenance, nor did he give him the least opposition to his being deprived of the rich bishopric of Winchester, when he knew that archbishop Cranmer considered it as a thing necessary to the peace of the church. The reader is left to judge from these facts, whether he was a man wholly indifferent about religion, or a deep dissembler, willing to do any thing that might either gain or preserve power.

In the month of January, 1551, he was constituted earl-marshal of England; but, whereas a certain historian says, that he was joined in an embassy with William, marquis of Northampton, to the French king, about
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the same time, it is clearly a mistake; since it appears, from unexceptionable authority, that it was his son, the lord viscount L'Isle.

On the 15th of August, in the same year, sir Robert Dudley, one of the earl's younger sons, was sworn one of the six ordinary gentlemen of the chamber. A short time afterwards, the earl of Warwick was made lord-warden of the northern marches: and, on the 11th of October, in the same year, he was advanced to the dignity of duke of Northumberland; at the same time that the marquis of Dorset was created duke of Suffolk.

It is the observation of the very learned and judicious Mr. Camden, "That the duke of Somerset lost his life for a very small crime, and that upon a nice point, subtilly devised and managed by his enemies." Now, if Dr. Fuller may be admitted to explain this short text, he will bring it home to the noble person whose history we are writing. Speaking of Somerset's accusation, he says, "Here I must set John Dudley, earl of Warwick, as a transcendant, in a form by himself, being famous as a competent lawyer, son to judge, a known soldier, and able statesman, and acting against the protector in all these his capacities. Indeed, he was the very soul of the accusation, being all in all, and all in every part thereof."

This was generally remembered when his fall came, and loudly charged upon him by the
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the people: and yet it may be urged, if not in justification, at least in excuse, that he was not bound to regard his own life less than Somerset did his, who, for his security, procured that act of parliament on which he died: nor could it be well expected, that he should have more pity or commiseration for his rival in those unhappy circumstances, than Somerset, when protector, had for his brother. About this time, or rather a little before, he was elected chancellor of Cambridge, in the room of that unfortunate peer of whom we have before spoken; but, at that time, he became high-steward, which Dr. Heylen assures us he was; and that these two offices have never been in one person before or since, is very certain.

This great politician had now raised himself as high as it was possible, in point of dignity and of power. The ascendancy he had gained over the young king was so great, that he directed him entirely at his pleasure; and he had, with such dexterity, wrought most of the great nobility into his interests, and had so humbled and depressed all who shewed any dislike to him, that he seemed to have all things to hope, and little to fear. We ought, therefore, to attribute to this situation, and that vain pride which naturally triumphs in the breasts of ambitious men, his mean and barbarous usage of the head of his family, and his near relation, John, baron of Dudley, whose

whose estate being entangled by usurers, he, by purchasing assignments of mortgages, drew, by degrees, intirely into his own hands, so as at last to compass what he for many years desired, the possession of the antient castle of Dudley; which he not only thoroughly repaired, but added also a noble structure, worthy of his wealth and greatness, which was called the new building; adorning all parts of the castle with the arms of the noble families from which, by his mother's side, he was descended; that, in succeeding times, it might not be taken for an acquisition, but the patrimony of his family.

This was certainly going far enough, or rather much too far; yet he ventured still farther; and, having despoiled his poor cousin of his castle and estates, thrust the titles of Dudley and Somerie amongst his other baronies, leaving his unhappy kinsman a new and strange title in their stead; for living, as well as he could, amongst the great families in Staffordshire and Warwickshire, who pitied his misfortunes, he went there currently by the name of lord Quondam, till, by a sudden revolution, he became master of Dudley castle again; and his son obtained, out of the forfeiture of this potent duke, an ample fortune, free from all incumbrances, with a clear title.

Many writers there are who insinuate, that, from the time the duke of Northumberland and his family came to have the person of the king, as well as the direction of the government, in
their

their hands, the health of that young prince began to decline ; but these, perhaps, are no other than calumnies. It does not indeed appear, that the duke of Northumberland had any cause to suspect the loss of his power while that king lived, nor did he seem to fear it ; but, when he discerned his majesty's health to decline apace, it was very natural for him to consider how he might render himself and his family safe : and, from the hurry with which the marriage was concluded between the lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter to the duke of Suffolk, and his fourth son, lord Guilford Dudley ; which was celebrated in the month of May, 1553 ; that is, not above two months before the king died ; we may suppose that he had, for some time, been contriving in his mind that plan for the disposal of the kingdom, which he carried afterwards into execution.

In the parliament held a little before the king's death, the duke of Northumberland procured a considerable supply to be granted ; and, in the preamble of that act, a direct censure of the duke of Somerset's administration : and, having wisely answered his purposes by this single measure, dissolved that parliament immediately. He then applied himself to the king, and shewed him the necessity of setting her aside, from the danger the protestant religion would be in, if the lady Mary should succeed him ; in which, from the piety of that young prince, he met with no
great

great difficulty. Bishop Burnet says, he did not well understand how the king was prevailed upon to pass by his sister Elizabeth, who had been always much in his favour; perhaps he might be told, that it was impossible to assign any reasons for disinheriting one sister, that might not also be applied for the other; so that there was a necessity of depriving both, or neither. Yet, when this was done, there was another difficulty in the way.

The duchess of Suffolk was the next heir, and she might have sons; and, therefore, to bar these in favour of lady Jane Dudley seemed to be unnatural, as well as illegal: the duchess herself contributed, as far as in her lay, to remove this obstacle, by devolving her right upon her daughter, even if she had male issue; which satisfied the king, who was but in the sixteenth year of his age, and might not therefore perceive the fallacy of resigning not only her own claim, but that of those who might descend from her; which she could not possibly have power to do.

The king's consent being obtained, the next point was, to procure a proper instrument to be drawn by the judges; in doing which, the duke of Northumberland made use of threats as well as promises; and, when done at last, it was in such a manner, as plainly shewed it to be illegal in their own opinions.

At this time, indeed, the duke, either from the hurry of his passions, the fear he had of what might happen from delays, or the haughtiness

tiness arising from a series of good fortune, which had so long continued, began to lose much of his former gentleness and affability, as he shewed himself amazingly rapacious in the grants which he obtained from a king, whose age, exclusive of his sickness, made it indecent at least, if not illegal, to accept such mighty bounties; the worth of which he could never be presumed to know, from his giving them thus lavishly away. The duke was no less careful in drawing to himself as much power, and diffusing his interest as wide as possible; so that, whatever happened, he might not want a retreat, or find his schemes in danger of being broken, through an opposition by the discontented nobility: in which schemes, notwithstanding their difficulty, he succeeded to his wish, his estate being enlarged, and his offices multiplied, beyond any thing that had, in former times, been bestowed upon any subject.

The letters patents for disposing of the crown were signed by king Edward on the 21st of June, and, on the 6th of July, that monarch expired, expressing, to the last, great satisfaction in the provision he had made for securing the protestant religion, and the happiness of his people. It is said, the duke of Northumberland was very desirous of concealing the king's death for some time; but this being found impossible, he carried his daughter-in-law, the lady Jane, to the Tower for greater security; and, on the 10th of July, proclaimed.

proclaimed her queen. The council also wrote to lady Mary, requiring her submission; but they were very soon informed that she was retired into Norfolk, where many of the nobility, and multitudes of people, resorted to her. It was then resolved to send forces against her under the command of the duke of Suffolk; but queen Jane, as she was then stiled, would by no means part with her father; and the council earnestly pressed the duke of Northumberland to go in person; to which he was little inclined, as doubting their fidelity. He signified as much in the speech he made at taking his leave, and was answered with the strongest assurances that men could give. The earl of Arundel, particularly, told him, He was sorry it was not his chance to go with him, in whose presence he could find in his heart to spend his blood even at his feet.

On the 14th of July, the duke, accompanied by the marquis of Northampton, the lord Grey, and others, marched through Bishopsgate with two thousand horse, and six thousand foot; but, as they rode through Shoreditch, he could not forbear saying to the lord Grey, "The people press to see us, but none say, God speed us." His activity and courage, for which he had been so famous, seemed, from this time, to have deserted him; for, though he advanced to St. Edmund's-bury, in Suffolk, yet, finding his troops diminish, the people little affected to him, and
no

no supplies coming from London, though he had wrote to the lords in the most pressing terms, he retired back again to Cambridge.

In the mean time, the council thought of nothing but to get out of the Tower, and at last effected it, under pretence of going to the earl of Pembroke's house at Baynard's castle, to give audience to the foreign ambassadors. This was on the 19th of the same month; and the first thing they did when they came there, was, to send for the lord-mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, whom they accompanied to Cheapside, and there garter king at-arms proclaimed queen Mary. The earl of Arundel, and lord Paget, went the same night to pay their duty to her.

The duke of Northumberland had advice of this on the 20th, and, about five in the afternoon, the same day, caused her to be proclaimed at Cambridge, throwing up his cap, and crying, "God save queen Mary!" with how much joy and sincerity may be imagined. About an hour afterwards came letters from the council to the duke of Northumberland, by one of the heralds, requiring him to disband his forces; upon receiving which, the duke gave leave to every man to depart; and soon after he was arrested in King's-college by Slegge, serjeant-at arms: but other letters coming from the council, that all men should go each his way, the duke said to those that kept him, "Ye do me wrong to withdraw my liberty;

liberty; see you not the council's letters, without exception, that all men should go whither they would?" Whereupon they who guarded him, and the other noblemen, set them at liberty; and so they continued that night: and the earl of Warwick, the duke of Northumberland's son, was ready in the morning to have rode away: at which time the earl of Arundel came from the queen unto the duke into his chamber; who, when he saw him, said, "For the love of God, consider I have done nothing but by the consent of you, and all the whole council." "My lord," replied the earl of Arundel, "I am sent hither by the queen's majesty; and, in her name, I arrest you." "I obey it," said the duke. "I beseech you, my lord of Arundel, use mercy towards me, knowing the case as it is." "My lord," answered the earl, "you should have sought for mercy sooner; I must do according to my commandment:" and thereupon committed the charge of him, and of others, to the guard and gentlemen that stood by.

The twenty-fifth of July, the duke, with the rest, were brought to the Tower of London, under the conduct of Henry, earl of Arundel, with a body of light-horsemen. On Friday, the eighteenth of August, he was arraigned, a great scaffold being set up in Westminster-hall, with John, earl of Warwick, his son and heir; and William Parr, marquis of Northampton; before Thomas, duke of Norfolk, high-steward of England on that occasion.

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The indictment having been read, containing a charge against him of high-treason, the duke of Northumberland, with great reverence towards the judges, protested his faith and allegiance to the queen, whom he confessed grievously to have offended ; and said he meant not to speak any thing in defence of his acts, but requested to understand the opinion of the court in two points :

First, Whether a man, doing any thing by the authority of the prince's council, and by warrant of the great-seal of England, and doing nothing without the same, might be charged with treason for any thing he might do by warrant thereof ?

Secondly, Whether any such persons as were equally culpable in that crime, and those by whose letters and commandments he was directed in all his doings, might be his judges, or pass upon his trial as his peers ?

To which it was answered, That the great-seal, which he had for his warrant, was not the seal of the lawful queen of the realm, nor passed by authority ; but the seal of an usurper ; and therefore could be no warrant to him : and, that, if any were as deeply to be touched in the case as himself, yet, so long as no attainder was of record against them, they were persons able in law to pass on any trial, and to be challenged but at the prince's pleasure.---After which answer, the duke used few words, but confessed the indictment ; by whose example the other prisoners arraigned with

with him did the like, and thereupon had judgment.

The duke, on receiving his sentence, said, " I beseech you, my lords, all to be humble suitors to the queen's majesty, and to grant me four requests: First, That I may have that death which noblemen have had in times past, and not the other. Secondly, That her majesty will be gracious to my children, which may hereafter do good service, considering that they went by my commandment, who am their father; and not of their own free wills. Thirdly, That I may have appointed to me some learned men for the instruction and quiet of my conscience: and, Fourthly, That she will send two of the council to commune with me, to whom I will declare such matters as shall be expedient for her and the commonwealth. And thus I beseech you all to pray for me."

After his condemnation, he was carried back to the Tower, where he remained a close prisoner. Monday, the twenty-first of August, was the day fixed for his execution: when a vast concourse of people assembled upon Tower-hill, all the usual preparations being made, and the executioner ready: but, after waiting some hours, the people were ordered to depart. This delay was to afford time for his making an open shew of the change of his religion, since that very day, in the presence of the mayor and aldermen, as well as some of

the privy-council, he heard mass in the Tower. The next day, he was actually brought out to suffer death, on the same scaffold on Tower-hill; where he made a very long speech to the people; of which there remains nothing but what relates to his religion; which he not only professed to be then that of the church of Rome, but that it had been always so; taking upon himself the odious character of a hypocrite in the sight of God, as well as a dissembler with men.

John Fox affirms, that he had a promise of pardon, even if his head was upon the block, if he would recant and hear mass; and some have believed that he entertained such a hope to the last, from a passage in his speech.

“ Good people, all you that be here present to see me die, though my death be odious and horrible to the flesh, yet I beg you to judge the best in God’s works, for he doth all for the best: and, as for me, I am a wretched sinner, and have deserved to die, and most justly am condemned to die by law: and yet this act, whereof I die, was not altogether of me; but I was procured and induced thereunto by others: howbeit, God forbid that I should name any man unto you, and therefore I beseech you look not for it. I, for my part, forgive all men, and pray God also to forgive them; and, if I have offended any of you here, I pray you and all the world to forgive me; and most chiefly I desire forgiveness of the
queen’s

queen's highness, whom I have most grievously offended : and I pray you all to witness for me, that I depart in perfect love and charity with all the world ; and, that you will assist me with your prayers at the hour of death. And here I do protest unto you, good people, most earnestly, even from the bottom of my heart, that this which I have spoken is of myself, not being required nor moved thereunto by any man ; nor by any flattery, or hope of life ; and I take witness of my lord of Worcester here, mine old friend and ghostly father, that he found me in this mind and opinion when he came to me ; but I have declared this only upon mine own mind and affection, and for the zeal and love that I bear to my natural country. I could, good people, rehearse much more, even by experience, that I have, of this evil that hath happened to this realm by these occasions ; but you know I have another thing to do, whereunto I must prepare me, for the time draweth away. And now I beseech the queen's highness to forgive me mine offences against her majesty, whereof I have a singular hope, forasmuch as she has already extended her goodness and clemency so far upon me, that whereas she might forthwith, without judgment, or any farther trial, have put me to a most vile and cruel death, by hanging, drawing, and quartering, forasmuch as I was in the field in arms against her majesty. Her highness, nevertheless, of her most mer-

ciful goodness, suffered me to be brought to my judgment, and to have my trial by law, where I was most justly condemned. And her highness hath now also extended her mercy and clemency upon me, for the manner and kind of my death : and therefore my hope is, that her grace, of her goodness, will remit all the rest of her indignation and displeasure towards me, which I beseech you all most heartily to pray for ; and that it may please God long to preserve her majesty, to reign over you in much honour and felicity."

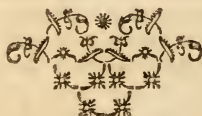
After this he behaved with becoming courage and composure, putting off his damask gown when he had done speaking, and then kneeled down, saying, to them that were about him, " I beseech you all to bear me witnesses, that I die in the true catholic faith : " and then said the psalms of Miserere and De Profundis ; his Pater Noster, and six of the first verses of the psalm, In te Domine speravi ; ending with this verse, " Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." And, when he had thus ended his prayers, the executioner asked him forgiveness, to whom he said, " I forgive thee with all my heart, do thy part without fear." And bowing towards the block he said, " I have deserved a thousand deaths." Then laid his head on the block, and was beheaded ; whose body, with the head, was buried in the Tower by the body of Edward, duke of Somerset ; so that there lie between the
high

high altar in St. Peter's church, two dukes between two queens; viz. queen Anne and queen Catharine; all four beheaded.

Such was the end of this potent nobleman, who, with the title of a duke, exercised, for some time, a power little inferior to that of a king, in the fifty-first, or, at most, in the fifty-second, year of his age; one differently represented by our historians; but of whom it may be truly said, that, though even his enemies could not deny he had many great, and some good, qualities, yet the best friends to his memory must confess, they were much over-balanced by his vices.

Camden, speaking of the earl of Warwick, says, "He was a man of antient nobility, comely in stature and countenance, but of little gravity or abstinence in pleasures; yea, sometimes almost dissolute; which was not much regarded, if, in a time when vices began to grow in fashion, a great man was not over severe. He was of a great spirit, and highly aspiring, not forbearing to make any mischief the means of attaining his ambitious ends. Hereto his good wit and pleasant speeches were altogether serviceable; having the art also, by empty promises and threats, to draw others to his purpose. In matters of arms, he was both skilful and industrious; and, as well in foresight as resolution, present and great. To say truth, for enterprizes by arms, he was the minion of that time; so as few things he at-

tempted but he atchieved with honour ; which made him more proud and ambitious when he had done. He generally increased both in estimation with the king, and authority among the nobility ; doubtful, whether, by fatal destiny to the state, or whether by his virtues, or, at least, by his appearances of virtues."





Wale del
Hugh Latimer Bish.^p of Worcester..
Fougeron sculp



THE LIFE OF

HUGH LATIMER.

HUGH LATIMER was born at Thirk-
 effon in Leicestershire, about the year
 1470. His father was a yeoman of good re-
 putation, had no land of his own, but rented
 a small farm, on which, in those frugal times,
 he maintained a large family, six daughters,
 and a son. Mr. Latimer, in one of his court
 sermons, in king Edward's time, inveighing
 against the oppression then exercised in the
 country by the nobility and gentry, and speak-
 ing of the moderation of landlords a few years
 before, and the plenty in which their tenants
 lived, tells his audience, in his familiar way,
 "That upon a farm of four pounds a year at
 the utmost, his father tilled as much ground
 as kept half a dozen men; that he had it
 stocked with an hundred sheep, and thirty
 cows; that he found the king a man and
 horse, himself remembering to have buckled on
 his father's harness, when he went to Black-
 heath; that he gave his daughters five pounds
 a-piece at marriage; that he lived hospitably
 among his neighbours, and was not backward
 in his alms to the poor."

We meet with nothing about Mr. Latimer
 worth relating, till we find him a master of
 arts, in priest's orders, at Cambridge. Here

his youth had been wholly employed on the divinity of the times. He read the schoolmen and the scriptures with the same reverence, and held Thomas a Becket and the apostles in equal honour ; in a word, he was a zealous papist. Many of the reformed opinions, which were then fermenting in Germany, had by this time discovered themselves in England. The legislature had not yet interfered ; but the watchful priests had taken the alarm, and the danger of the church was already become the popular cry. Mr. Latimer, among others, heard, with great indignation, these novel teachers : zeal wrought the same effect in him, that interest did in the many ; and while others were apprehensive that their temporals might be in danger, he was concerned for the souls of men. The last times, he thought, were now approaching : impiety was gaining ground a-pace : what lengths might not men be expected to run, when they began to question even the infallibility of the pope ?

As his well-meant zeal was thus inflamed, it of course broke out into all the effects of bigotry. He inveighed publicly and privately against the reformers. If any read lectures in the schools suspected of their tenets, Mr. Latimer was sure to be there to drive out the scholars ; and having an opportunity, when he commenced bachelor of divinity, to give an open testimony of his dislike to their proceedings, he made an oration against Melancthon, whom he treated with great severity
for

for his impious innovations in religion. His zeal was so much taken notice of in the university, that he was elected into the office of cross-bearer in all public processions; an employment, which he accepted with reverence, and discharged with becoming solemnity.

Among those in Cambridge, who at this time favoured the reformation, the most considerable was Thomas Bilney. He was a man of the strictest life; and having long observed the scandalous state of monkery in the nation, and the prevailing debauchery of the clergy, he was led to doubt, whether their principles might not be as corrupt as their practice. Time increased his suspicions. He read Luther's writings, and approved them: he talked with the papists, and observed a bitterness and rancour in their stile, which ill became a good cause. In few words, he began to see popery in a very disagreeable light, and made no scruple to own it.

It was Mr. Latimer's good fortune to be well acquainted with this religious person. Mr. Bilney had long indeed conceived very favourable sentiments of him. He had known his life in the university, a life moral and devout: he ascribed his failings to the genius of his religion; and, notwithstanding his more than ordinary zeal in the profession of that religion, he could not but observe in him a very candid temper. Induced by these favourable appearances, Bilney failed not, as opportuni-

ties offered, to suggest many things to Latimer about corruptions in religion, and would frequently drop a hint, that in the Romish church in particular there were, perhaps, some things, which rather deviated from apostolic plainness. Thus starting cavils, and infusing suspicions, he prepared the way for his whole creed, which at length he opened ; concluding with an earnest persuasion, that Mr. Latimer would only endeavour to divest himself of his prejudices, and place the two sides of the question before him, with an honest heart for his guide. How Mr. Latimer at first received these free declarations, and by what steps he attained a settlement in his religious opinions, does not appear ; this only we find in general, that Bilney's friendship towards him had its effect.

Mr. Latimer no sooner ceased from being a zealous papist, than he became (such was his constitutional warmth) a zealous protestant. He had nothing of that neutral coolness in his temper, which the Athenian lawgiver discouraged in a commonwealth. Accordingly, we soon find him very active in supporting and propagating the reformed opinions. He endeavoured with great assiduity to make converts, both in town, and in the university ; preaching in public, exhorting in private, and every where pressing the necessity of a good life, in opposition to those outward performances, which were then thought the essentials of religion.

The

The first remarkable opposition he met with from the popish party, was occasioned by a course of sermons he preached during the holidays of Christmas, before the university, in which he spoke his sentiments with great freedom upon many opinions and usages, maintained and practised in the Romish church. In these sermons he shewed the impiety of indulgences, the uncertainty of tradition, and the vanity of works of supererogation : he inveighed against that multiplicity of ceremonies with which true religion was incumbered, and the pride and usurpation of the Romish hierarchy : but what he most insisted upon was, that great abuse of locking up the scripture in an unknown tongue ; giving his reasons without any reserve, why it ought to be put in every one's hands.

Great was the outcry occasioned by these discourses. Mr. Latimer was then a preacher of some eminence, and began to display a remarkable address in adapting himself to the capacities of the people. The orthodox clergy observing him thus followed, thought it high time to oppose him openly. This task was undertaken by Dr. Buckenham, prior of the Black Friars, who appeared in the pulpit a few Sundays after, and with great pomp and prolixity, shewed the dangerous tendency of Mr. Latimer's opinions : particularly he inveighed against his heretical notions of having the scriptures in English, laying open the ill

effects of such an innovation. "If that heresy, said he, should prevail, we should soon see an end of every thing useful among us. The ploughman reading, that if he put his hand to the plough, and should happen to look back, he was unfit for the kingdom of God, would soon lay aside his labour : the baker likewise reading, that a little leaven will corrupt his lump, would give us very insipid bread : the simple man likewise finding himself commanded to pluck out his eyes, in a few years we should have the nation full of blind beggars."

Mr. Latimer could not help listening with secret pleasure to this ingenious reasoning. Perhaps, he had acted as prudently, if he had considered the prior's arguments as unanswerable ; but he could not resist the vivacity of his temper, which strongly inclined him to expose this solemn trifler. The whole university met together on Sunday, when it was known Mr. Latimer would preach, That vein of pleasantry and humour, which ran through all his words and actions would have here, it was imagined, full scope : and, to say the truth, the preacher was not a little conscious of his own superiority. To complete the scene, just before the sermon began, prior Buckenham himself entered the church, with his cowl about his shoulders, and seated himself, with an air of importance, before the pulpit.

Mr.

Mr. Latimer, with great gravity, recapitulated the learned doctor's arguments, placed them in the strongest light, and then rallied them with such a flow of wit, and at the same time with so much good humour, that, without the appearance of ill-nature, he made his adversary in the highest degree ridiculous. He then, with great address, appealed to the people, descanted upon the low esteem in which their holy guides had always held their understandings; expressed the utmost offence at their being treated with such contempt, and wished his honest countrymen might only have the use of the scripture till they shewed themselves such absurd interpreters. He concluded his discourse with a few observations upon scripture metaphors. A figurative manner of speech, he said, was common in all languages: representations of this kind were in daily use, and generally understood. "Thus, for instance, said he, (addressing himself to that part of the audience where the prior was seated) when we see a fox painted preaching in a friar's hood, nobody imagines that a fox is meant, but that craft and hypocrisy are described, which are so often found disguised in that garb."

But it is probable, Mr. Latimer thought this levity unbecoming: for when one Venetus, a foreigner, not long after, attacked him again upon the same subject, and in manner the most scurrilous and provoking, we find him using a graver strain. He answers, like a scholar,

scholar, what is worth answering ; and, like a man of sense, leaves the absurd part to confute itself. Whether he ridiculed, however, or reasoned, with so much of the spirit of true oratory, considering the times, his harangues were so animated, that they seldom failed of their intended effect : his raillery shut up the prior within his monastery, and his arguments drove Venetus from the university.

These things greatly alarmed the orthodox clergy. Of this sort were all the heads of colleges, and, indeed, the senior part of the university. Frequent convocations were held ; tutors were admonished to have a strict eye over their pupils ; and academical censures of all kinds were inflicted. But academical censures were found insufficient. Mr. Latimer continued to preach, and heresy to spread. The true spirit of popery, therefore, began to exert itself, and to call aloud for the secular arm.

Dr. West was at that time bishop of Ely : to him, as their diocesan, the heads of the popish party applied. But the bishop was not a man for their purpose : he was a papist indeed, but moderate. He came to Cambridge, however ; examined the state of religion, and at their intreaty, preached against heretics : but he would do nothing further. Only, indeed, he silenced Mr. Latimer ; which, as he had preached himself, was an instance of his prudence. But this gave no great check to the reformers. There happened at that time
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to be a protestant prior in Cambridge, Dr. Barnes, of the Austin Friars. His monastery was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, and being a great admirer of Mr. Latimer, he boldly licenced him to preach there. Hither his party followed him ; and the late opposition having greatly excited the curiosity of the people, the friars chapel was soon unable to contain the crowds that attended. Among others, it is remarkable, that the bishop of Ely was often one of his hearers ; and had the ingenuity to declare, that Mr. Latimer was one of the best preachers he had ever heard.

The credit to his cause which Mr. Latimer had thus gained by preaching, he maintained by sanctity of manners. Mr. Bilney and he did not satisfy themselves with acting unexceptionably, but were daily giving instances of goodness, which malice could not scandalize, nor envy misinterpret. They were always together concerting their schemes. The place where they used to walk, was long afterwards known by the name of the Heretics hill. Cambridge at the time was full of their good actions : their charities to the poor, and friendly visits to the sick and unhappy, were then common topics.

When complaints came from Cambridge of the daily increase of heresy, Tunstal, bishop of London, with an air of sanctity, shook his head, declaring it was shameful indeed, very shameful ! Warham raged loud, and
talked

talked of nothing but fire and extirpation, root and branch ; while Wolfey treated the whole as a jest, attributing it to the envy of a few illiterate priests, against men of superior merit. But complaints from Cambridge increasing daily, and Warham of course growing more importunate, the cardinal was at length obliged to shake off his indifference, and begin to act. He erected a court, therefore, consisting of bishops, divines, and canonists. Tunstal was made president, and Bilney, Latimer, and one or two more, were called upon to answer for their conduct. Bilney was considered as the heresiarc, and against him chiefly the rigour of the court was levelled. His examination was accordingly severe : every witness was heard with so much attention, and every deposition enlarged upon with so much bitterness, that Tunstal despaired of mixing any temper with the proceedings of his colleagues. The process came to an end, and the criminal, declaring himself what they called an obstinate heretic, was found guilty. Here Tunstal had an opportunity to shew the goodness of his heart. He could not interfere in Mr. Bilney's favour in a judicial way, but he laboured to save him by all the means in his power. The good bishop in the end prevailed : Bilney could not withstand the winning rhetoric of Tunstal, though he had withstood all the menaces of the inflamed Warham. He recanted, bore his faggot, and was dismissed.

As

As for Mr. Latimer, and the rest, they had easier terms: Tunstal omitted no opportunities of shewing mercy, and was dextrous in finding them; though it is probable, that, among so many voices, he would hardly have prevailed, if the cardinal had not countenanced his proceedings.

The heretics, upon their dismissal, returned to Cambridge, where they were received with open arms by their friends. Amidst this mutual joy, Bilney alone seemed unaffected; he shunned the sight of his acquaintance, and received their officious congratulations with confusion and blushes. In this state he continued about three years, reading much, avoiding company, and, in all respects, observing the severity of an ascetic. During this time, and especially towards the latter part of it, he would frequently be throwing out obscure hints of his meditating some extraordinary design. He would say that he was now almost prepared;—that he would shortly go up to Jerusalem;—and, that God must be glorified in him. After keeping his friends awhile in suspense by this mysterious language, he told them, at last, that he was fully determined to expiate his late shameful abjuration by his death. What they could oppose had no weight. He had taken his resolution; and, breaking at once from all his attachments in Cambridge, he set out for Norfolk, which was the place of his nativity; and which, for that
reason

reason, he chose to make the scene of his death. When he came there, he went about the country, confessing his guilt in abjuring a faith, in which he was now determined to die. Popery, he told the people, was a most diabolical religion; and exhorted them to beware of idolatry, and to trust no longer in the cowl of St. Francis, in prayers to saints, in pilgrimages, penances, and indulgences; but rather to believe in Jesus Christ, and to lead good lives; which was all that God required of them.

The report of this very extraordinary preacher soon reached the ears of the bishop of Norwich, who watched over those parts with the zeal of an inquisitor. Mr. Bilney was quickly apprehended, and secured in the county-goal. While he lay there waiting the arrival of the writ for his execution, he gave very surprising instances of a firm and collected mind. He began now to recover from that abject state of melancholy which had before oppressed him. Some of his friends found him eating a hearty supper the night before his execution; and expressing their surprize, he told them, he was but doing what they had daily examples of in common life: he was only keeping his cottage in repair, while he continued to inhabit it. The same composure ran through his whole behaviour; and his conversation was that evening more agreeable than his friends almost ever remembered it. He dwelt

dwelt much upon a passage in Isaiah, which he said gave him much comfort. "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee; thou art mine. When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burn thee: I am the Lord thy God." With equal constancy he went through his last trial. His death, which Mr. Fox relates at large, was as noble an instance of christian courage as those times, fruitful of such examples, afforded. The popish party would have had it afterwards believed he died in their faith: and great pains were taken by many of them to propagate the story. But Mr. Fox, bishop Burnet, and others, have sufficiently refuted the many idle things which were said upon that occasion.

The following account of him, Mr. Latimer hath left us in a letter to a friend.

"I have known Bilney," says he, "a great while; and, to tell you what I have always thought of him, I have known few so ready to do every man good, after his power; noisome, wittingly, to none; and, towards his enemy, charitable and reconcileable. To be short, he was a very simple, good soul, nothing meet for this wicked world; whose evil state he would lament and bewail, as much as any man that I never knew. As for his singular learning, as well in the holy scriptures, as in other good letters, I will not now speak of it. How he ordered, or misordered himself in judgment, I cannot tell, nor will I meddle withal: but I cannot but wonder, if
a man

a man living so mercifully, so charitably, so patiently, so continently, so studiously, and so virtuously, should die an evil death."

It happened that, among other tracts about this time dispersed, there was one written in a warmer language than ordinary. It was entitled, *The Supplication of the Beggars*, and contained a very severe invective against the regular clergy. This piece roused the whole body; and a successful application was made to the king, who immediately issued out a most severe proclamation against heretical books, empowering the bishops to imprison or fine all persons suspected of having them, till the party had purged himself, or abjured; and sheriffs were to arrest all suspected persons, and deliver them to the bishops.

The sword thus put into the hands of the clergy, was presently unsheathed. The effects of this proclamation were indeed very dreadful. It would surprize the good people of England at this day to hear, that many of their forefathers were burnt for reading the Bible, and teaching their children the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer in English: but such things were then called heresy.

On this occasion Mr. Latimer took upon him to write to the king. He had preached before him once or twice at Windsor, and had been taken notice of by him in a more affable manner than that monarch usually indulged towards his subjects: but, whatever hopes of preferment

preferment his sovereign's favour might have raised in him, as he was generally considered as one of the most eminent of those who favoured protestantism, he thought it became him to be one of the most forward in opposing popery. His letter is the picture of an honest sincere heart ; and was chiefly intended to point out to the king the bad intention of the bishops in procuring the proclamation.

“ St. Augustin,” says he, “ in an epistle to Casulanus, tells us, That he who, through fear, hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of Heaven, as a person who fears man more than God.---And St. Chrysostom, to the same effect, gives it, as his opinion, That a person may betray the truth as well by concealing it, as disguising it.---These sentences, great king, occurred to me very lately ; and have had such an effect upon me, that I must either open my conscience to your majesty, or rank myself among such persons as these two holy fathers censure. The latter I cannot think of.

“ But, alas ! there are men upon whom such severe censures can have no effect : there are men, who, pretending to be guides and teachers in religion, not only conceal the truth, but prohibit others to set it forth : blind guides who shut up the kingdom of Heaven from men, and will neither enter in themselves, neither suffer them that would to enter ; and, not content with obstructing the word of God to the utmost of their own authority, they have contrived, by their subtil practices, to draw
in

in to their assistance the civil power in almost all the states of christendom. In this nation, especially, they have long imposed upon their subjects by their delusions, and kept them in awe by their spiritual censures; and, when they saw the truth likely to prevail, and gather strength from their opposition, they have at length obtained your majesty's proclamation in their favour, and have got it declared treason to read the scripture in English.

“ Hear me, I beseech your majesty, a few words, and let me intreat you to call to mind the example of Christ and his apostles, their manner of life, their preaching, and whole behaviour; that, comparing them with the spiritual guides of these days, your majesty may the better judge who are the true followers of Christ.

“ And, first, it is evident, that simplicity of manners, and hearts, sequestered from the world, were the striking characteristics of the first preachers of the Gospel, and of our blessed Lord himself. Poverty in spirit was then practised as well as preached. Alas! it is since those days that christian teachers, masking their worldly hearts under a pretence of voluntary poverty, and an exclusion from carnal things, have wormed themselves into more than regal wealth; and have wickedly kept what they have craftily obtained, by fomenting foreign or domestic strife, in all places, as their purposes were best served; and by blasphemously

phemously dealing out even the punishments of Heaven against all who had resolution enough to make a stand against their corruptions. By what arts they have evaded a late act of parliament against their encroachments, your majesty well knows.---Think not, gracious sovereign, that I exceed the bounds of charity in what I say: I only offer to your majesty's consideration a rule which was once prescribed by a greater master, 'By their fruits you shall know them.'

“ Another mark of the true disciples of Christ, is, their being at all times exposed to persecution. It would be endless to quote all the passages of scripture in which this burden is universally laid upon good christians. Contempt and reproach is their common lot, and often the most violent persecutions, even to death itself. Where-ever, therefore, the word of God is truly preached, you must expect to see persecution in one shape or other. On the contrary, wherever you see ease and luxury, and a quiet possession of worldly pleasures, there the truth cannot possibly be. For the world loveth only such as are worldly; and the favourers of the Gospel can expect nothing in it from reason, and are promised nothing in it by scripture, but vexation and trouble.—From this distinction again, your majesty, by the assistance of the above-mentioned rule, 'By their fruits you shall know them,' will be able to judge, who are the true followers of Christ; where-ever you observe persecution,
there

there is more than a probability that the truth lies on the persecuted side.

“ As for a notion, which has been infused into your majesty, that the scriptures, in the hands of the people, might move them to rebellion, your majesty may judge of the falsehood of this likewise by the same rule : ‘ By their fruit you shall know them.’ How is it possible that a book, which inculcates obedience to magistrates with the greatest earnestness, can be the cause of sedition ? The thing speaks itself, and discovers only how much their malice is at a loss for topics of invective.

“ When king David sent ambassadors to the young king of the Ammonites, to condole with him upon the death of his father, your majesty may remember what unadvised counsel was given to that rash prince. His counsellors put it into his head, contrary to all reason, that David’s messengers came only as spies, and that David certainly meant an invasion. The young king, upon this, without farther ceremony, wantonly shaved the heads of the ambassadors, and treated them with other instances of contempt. But the following verses inform us how the affair ended. The destruction of the whole land, we read, was the consequence of the king’s listening to imprudent counsel.

“ Let not, great king, this fact find its parallel in English story. The ambassadors of a great prince are now making suit to you ; the holy evangelists and the apostles of Christ.

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Be upon your guard ; and believe not the idle tales of those who would persuade you, that these messengers of peace are coming to foment sedition in your land. Would your majesty know the true cause of this confederacy, as I may well call it, against the word of God ; examine the lives of those who are the leaders of it, and consider whether there may not be some private reasons inducing such persons to keep a book in concealment, which cries out loudly against all kinds of vice : and, if your majesty wants to know the source of rebellions, I think a much fairer one may be conjectured at, than the use of an English Bible. For my own part, I have long been of opinion, that a greater encouragement of all kinds of civil disorder could hardly have been invented, than the church-trade of pardons and indulgences : to which may be added the bad examples of the clergy, and the little care they are generally thought to take in the discharge of their duty.

“ As for those who are now in question about your majesty’s late proclamation, I am credibly informed, there is not one among them, who hath not, in every respect, demeaned himself as a peaceable and good subject ; excepting only this one case, in which they thought their religion and consciences concerned. In this particular, however, I excuse them not : nor will I take upon me intirely to defend the books for which they suffer ; for, indeed, many of them I have never read ; only

this your majesty must give me leave to say, that it is impossible the many inconveniences can follow from these books, and especially from the scripture, which they would persuade mankind, will follow.

“ Accept, gracious sovereign, without displeasure, what I have written. I thought it my duty to mention these things to your majesty. No personal quarrel, as God shall judge me, have I with any man: I wanted only to induce your majesty to consider well what kind of persons you have about you, and the ends for which they counsel: indeed, great prince, many of them, or they are much slandered, have very private ends. God grant your majesty may see through all the designs of evil men; and be, in all things, equal to the high office with which you are entrusted! But, gracious king, remember yourself; have pity upon your own soul; and think that the day is at hand, when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed by your sword. In the which day, that your grace may stand stedfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and have your pardon sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him who suffered death for our sins. The spirit of God preserve you!”

With such freedom did this worthy man address his sovereign; but the influence of the
popish

popish party was then so great, that his letter produced no effect.

The king's divorce was not yet brought to an issue. The legantine court, under the influence of Rome, was slow in its determinations. But the tediousness of the suit at length got the better of Henry's patience; and, finding himself duped by the Roman pontiff, he took it into his own hands: the pope's power was abrogated in England, and the king's supremacy established in its stead.

The part which Mr. Latimer acted in this affair, was one of the first things which brought him forward in life.

Among those who served the king in it, was Dr. Butts, his physician. This gentleman being sent to Cambridge, began immediately to pay his court to the protestant party, from whom the king expected most unanimity in his favour. Among the first, he made his application to Mr. Latimer, as a person most likely to serve him; begging that he would collect the opinions of his friends in the case, and do his utmost to bring over those of most eminence, who were still inclined to the papacy. Mr. Latimer, who was a thorough friend to the cause he was to solicit, undertook it with his usual zeal; and discharged himself so much to the satisfaction of the doctor, that, when that gentleman returned to court, he took Mr. Latimer along with him; and lord Cromwell, who conceived a high

regard for Mr. Latimer, very soon procured him a benefice.

This living was in Wiltshire, whither Mr. Latimer resolved, as soon as possible, to repair, and keep a constant residence. His friend Dr. Butts, surprised at his resolution, did what he could to persuade him from it. He was deserting, he told him, the fairest appearances of making his fortune. But Mr. Latimer was not a man on whom such arguments had any weight. He had no other notion of making his fortune, than that of putting himself in a way of being useful. He left the court, therefore, and entered immediately upon the duties of his parish; hoping to be of some use in the world, by faithfully exerting, in a private station, such abilities as God had given him. His behaviour was suitable to his resolutions. He thoroughly considered the office of a clergyman; and discharged it in the most conscientious manner. Nor was he satisfied with discharging it in his own parish, but extended his labours throughout the county, where he observed the pastoral care most neglected; having, for this purpose, obtained a general licence from the university of Cambridge.

His preaching, which was in a strain wholly different from the preaching of the times, soon made him acceptable to the people; among whom, in a little time, he established himself in great credit. He was treated likewise very civilly by the neighbouring gentry;

try ; and at Bristol, where he often preached, he was countenanced by the magistrates. The reputation he was thus daily gaining, presently alarmed the orthodox clergy in those parts. Their opposition to him appeared first on this occasion :

The mayor of Bristol had appointed him to preach there on an Easter-sunday. Public notice had been given, and all people were pleased ; when suddenly there came out an order from the bishop of Bristol, prohibiting any one to preach there without his licence. The clergy of the place waited upon Mr. Latimer, informed him of the bishop's order, and, knowing that he had no such a licence, “ were extremely sorry, that they were, by that means, deprived of the pleasure of hearing an excellent discourse from him.” Mr. Latimer received their civility with a smile ; for he had been apprised of the affair, and well knew, that these were the very persons who had written to the bishop against him.

Their opposition to him became afterwards more publick. Some of them ascended the pulpit in their zeal, and inveighed against him with great indecency of language. Of these the most forward was one Hubberdin, an empty, impudent fellow, who could say nothing of his own, but any thing that was put into his mouth. Through this instrument, and others of the same kind, such liberties were taken with Mr. Latimer's character, that he thought it proper, at length, to justify

tify himself; and, accordingly, called upon his maligners to accuse him publicly before the mayor at Bristol. And, with all men of candour he was justified; for, when that magistrate convened both parties, and put the accusers upon producing legal proof of what they had said, nothing of that kind appeared; but the whole accusation was left to rest upon the uncertain evidence of some hear say information.

His enemies, however, were not thus silenced. The party against him became daily stronger and more inflamed. It consisted, in general, of the country priests of those parts, headed by some divines of more eminence. These persons, after mature deliberation, drew up articles against him, extracted chiefly from his sermons; in which he was charged with speaking lightly of the worship of saints; with saying, that there was no material fire in hell; and, that he had rather be in purgatory, than in Lollard's tower. These articles, in the form of an accusation, were laid before Stokesley, bishop of London. This prelate immediately cited Mr. Latimer to appear before him. But Mr. Latimer, instead of obeying the citation, appealed to his own ordinary; thinking himself wholly exempt from the jurisdiction of any other bishop. Stokesley, upon this, making a private cause of it, was determined at any rate to get him in his power. He applied therefore to archbishop Warham, whose zeal was nearly of a
temper

temper with his own malice. The archbishop, being easily persuaded, cited Mr. Latimer to appear forthwith in his own court; where the bishop of London, and some other bishops, were commissioned to examine him. An archiepiscopal citation brought Mr. Latimer at once to a compliance. His friends would have had him to leave the country; but their persuasions were in vain. Before he set out for London, he wrote the following letter to a friend.

“ I marvel not a little, that my lord of London, having so large a diocese committed to his care, and so peopled as it is, can have leisure either to trouble me, or to trouble himself with me, so poor a wretch, a stranger to him, and nothing pertaining to his cure. Methinks it were more comely for my lord, if it were comely for me to say so, to be a preacher himself, than to be a disquieter of preachers. If it would please his lordship to take so great labour and pain, as to come and preach in my little bishopric at Westkington, whether I were present or absent, I would thank his lordship heartily for helping to discharge me in my cure, as long as his predication was fruitful, and to the edification of my parishoners. But he may do as he pleaseth. I pray God he may do as well as I would wish him to do. And, as to my preaching, I trust in God, my lord of London cannot justly reprove it, if it be taken as I spake it; else it is not my preaching. Either my lord of London will judge

mine outward man, or mine inward man. If he will have to do only with mine outward man, how I have ordered my life, I trust I shall please both my Lord God, and also my lord of London; for I have taught but according to the scriptures, and the antient interpreters of scriptures; and with all diligence moved my auditors to faith and charity: and, as for voluntary things, I reprov'd the abuse, without condemning the things themselves. But, if my lord will needs invade my inward man, and break violently into my heart, I fear then, indeed, I may displease my lord of London. Finally, as you say, the matter is weighty, even as weighty as my life is worth, and ought to be well looked to: how to look well to it I know not, otherwise than to pray to my Lord God night and day, that, as he hath boldened me to preach his truth, so he likewise will strengthen me to suffer for it: and I trust that God will help me; which trust, if I had not, the ocean-sea should have divided my lord of London and me by this time."

In this laudable temper Mr. Latimer set out for London. It was in the depth of winter, and he was at this time labouring under a severe fit both of the stone and cholic. These things were hard upon him; but what most distressed him was, the thought of leaving his parish so exposed, where the popish clergy would not fail to undo, in his absence, what he had hitherto done. When he arrived in
London,

London, he found a court of bishops and canonists assembled to receive him ; where, instead of being examined, as he expected. about his sermons, the following paper was offered to him, which he was ordered to subscribe.

“ I believe, that there is a purgatory to purge the souls of the dead after this life : that the souls in purgatory are holpen with the masses, prayers, and alms of the living : that the saints do pray as mediators for us in heaven : that it is profitable for christians to call upon the saints, that they may pray as mediators for us unto God : that pilgrimages and oblations done to the sepulchres and reliques of saints, are meritorious : that they which have vowed perpetual chastity, may not break their vow, without the dispensation of the pope : that the keys of binding and loosing, delivered to Peter, do still remain with the bishops of Rome, his successors, although they live wickedly ; and are, by no means, nor at any time, committed to laymen : that men may merit, at God’s hand, by fasting, prayer, and other works of piety : that they which are forbidden of the bishop to preach, as suspected persons, ought to cease until they have purged themselves before the said bishop : that the fast which is used in Lent, and other fasts prescribed by the canons, are to be observed : that God, in every one of the seven sacraments, giveth grace to a man rightly re-

ceiving the same : that consecrations, sanctifications, and blessings, by custom received into the church, are profitable : that it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable images of the crucifix, and other saints, should be had in the church as a remembrance, and to the honour and worship of Jesus Christ and his saints : that it is laudable and profitable to deck and clothe those images, and to set up burning lights before them, to the honour of the said saints."

This paper being offered to Mr. Latimer, he read it over, and returned it again, refusing to sign it. The archbishop, with a frown, desired he would consider what he did. " We intend not," says he, " Mr. Latimer, to be hard upon you ; we dismiss you, for the present : take a copy of the articles ; examine them carefully ; and God grant, that, at our next meeting, we may find each other in better temper."

At the next meeting, and at several succeeding ones, the same scene was acted over again : both sides continued inflexible. The bishops, however, being determined, if possible, to make him comply, began to treat him with more severity. Of one of these examinations he gives us the following account.

" I was brought out," says he, " to be examined in a chamber, where I was wont to be examined ; but at this time it was somewhat altered. For, whereas before there was a fire in

in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney; and the table stood near the chimney's end. There was, among these bishops that examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and whom I took for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table-end. Then, among other questions he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one; and, when I should make answer, 'I pray you, Mr. Latimer,' said he, 'speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off.' I marvelled at this, that I was bidden to speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney; and there I heard a pen plainly scratching behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all my answers, that I should not start from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answers; I could never else have escaped them."

Thus the bishops continued to distress Mr. Latimer; three times every week they regularly sent for him, with a view either to elicit something from him by captious questions: or to teaze him at length into a compliance: and indeed, at length, he was tired out. Accordingly, when he was next summoned, instead of going himself, he sent a letter to the archbishop; in which, with great freedom, he tells him, That the treatment he had of late met with, had fretted him into such a disorder, as rendered him unfit to attend them that day:

that, in the mean time, he could not help taking this opportunity to expostulate with his grace, for detaining him so long from the discharge of his duty : that it seemed to him most unaccountable, that they, who never preached themselves, should hinder others : that, as for their examination of him, he really could not imagine what they aimed at ; they pretended one thing in the beginning, and another in the progress : that, if his sermons were what gave offence, which, he persuaded himself, were neither contrary to the truth, nor to any canon of the church, he was ready to answer whatever might be thought exceptionable in them : that he wished a little more regard might be had to the judgment of the people ; and, that a distinction might be made between the ordinances of God and man : that, if some abuses in religion did prevail, (as was then commonly supposed) he thought preaching was the best means to discountenance them : that he wished all pastors might be obliged to perform their duty ; but that, however, liberty might be given to those who were willing : that, as for the articles proposed to him, he begged to be excused from subscribing them ; while he lived he never would abet superstition : and, that, lastly, he hoped the archbishop would excuse what he had written ; he knew his duty to his superiors, and would practise it ; but, in that case, he thought a stronger obligation laid upon him.

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What particular effect this letter produced, we are not informed ; but the king, apprized of the ill usage Mr. Latimer met with, most probably by the lord Cromwell's means, interposed in his behalf, and rescued him out of the hands of his enemies. Mr. Fox leaves it in doubt, whether he was not, at length, prevailed upon to subscribe the bishop's articles ; but we think it past dispute that he did not ; for, if he had, what occasion had the king to interpose ?

The unfortunate Ann Boleyn was at that time the favourite wife of Henry. She had imbibed from her youth the principles of the reformation, and continued still inclined to it. Whether she had been acquainted with Mr. Latimer before she met with him now at court, does not appear : she was extremely taken, however, with his simplicity, and apostolic appearance ; and mentioned him to her friends as a person, in her opinion, as well qualified as any she had seen to forward the reformation. One of her friends, and as much her favourite as any, was the lord Cromwell, who failed not, with his usual address, to raise Mr. Latimer still higher in her esteem. In short, the queen and the minister agreed in thinking, that he was a man endowed with too many public virtues to be suffered to live obscure in a private station ; and joined in an earnest recommendation of him to the king for a bishopric. Such suitors would have carried an harder point ;
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nor, indeed, did the king want much sollicitation in his favour.

It happened that the sees of Worcester and Salisbury were at that time vacant by the deprivation of Ghinuccii, and Campegio, two Italian bishops, who fell under the king's displeasure upon his rupture with Rome. The former of these was offered to Mr. Latimer. As he had been at no pains to procure this promotion, he looked upon it as the work of Providence, and accepted it without much persuasion. Indeed he had met with so very rough a check already, as a private clergyman, and saw before him so hazardous a prospect in his old station, that he thought it necessary, both for his own safety, and for the sake of being of more service in the world, to shrowd himself under a little temporal power..

How he discharged his new office may easily be imagined. An honest conscience, which was his rule of conduct in one station, might be supposed such in another. But we are not left to conjecture. All the historians of these times, mention him as a person remarkably zealous in the discharge of his duty. In overlooking the clergy of his diocese, which he thought the chief branch of the episcopal office, exciting in them a zeal for religion, and obliging them, at least, to a legal performance of their duty, he was uncommonly active, warm, and resolute. With the same spirit he presided over his ecclesiastical court; and either
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rooted out such crimes as were there cognizable, or prevented their becoming exemplary, by forcing them into corners. In visiting, he was frequent and observant; in ordaining, strict and wary; in preaching, indefatigable; in reproving and exhorting, severe and persuasive.

Thus far he could act with authority; but, in other things, he found himself under difficulties. The ceremonies of the popish worship gave him great offence; and he neither durst, in times so dangerous and unsettled, lay them entirely aside; nor, on the other hand, was he willing entirely to retain them. In this dilemma his address was admirable. He enquired into their origin; and, when he found any of them, as some of them were, derived from a good meaning, he took care to inculcate the original meaning, though itself a corruption, in the room of a more corrupt practice. Thus he put the people in mind, when bread and water were distributed, that these elements, which had long been thought endowed with a kind of magical influence, were nothing more than appendages to the two sacraments of the Lord's supper, and baptism: the former, he said, reminded us of Christ's death; and the latter was only a simple representation of our being purified from sin. By thus reducing popery to its principles, he improved, in some measure, a bad stock, by lopping from it a few fruitless excrescences.

While

While his endeavours to reform were thus confined within his own diocese, he was called upon to exert them in a more public manner ; having received a summons to attend the parliament and convocation. This meeting was opened, in the usual form, by a sermon, or rather an oration, spoken by the bishop of Worcester, whose eloquence was, at this time, every where famous. But, as he did not distinguish himself in the debates of this convocation, for debating, which ran very high between the protestant and popish parties, was not his talent, it is beside our purpose to enter into a detail of the several transactions of it. We shall only add, that an animated attempt was at this time made to get him and Cranmer stigmatized by some public censure : but, through their own and Cromwell's interest, they were too well established to fear any open attack from their enemies.

In the mean while, the bishop of Worcester, highly satisfied with the prospect of a reformation, repaired to his diocese, having made no longer stay in London than was absolutely necessary. He had no talents, and he knew that he had none, for state-affairs ; and therefore he meddled not with them. His whole ambition was, to discharge the pastoral functions of a bishop, neither aiming to display the abilities of the statesman, nor those of the courtier. How very unqualified he was to support the latter of these characters, will sufficiently appear from the following story.

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It was the custom in those days for the bishops, upon the coming in of the new year, to make presents to the king ; and many of them would present very liberally, proportioning their gifts to their expectancies. Among the rest, the bishop of Worcester, being at this time in town, waited upon the king with his offering ; but, instead of a purse of gold, which was the common oblation, he presented a New Testament, with a leaf doubled down, in a very conspicuous manner, to this passage, “ Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.”

The bishop of Worcester, being again settled in his diocese, went on, with his usual application, in the discharge of his duty : but we meet with no particulars of his behaviour at this time, except only in one instance. A gentleman of Warwickshire, in a purchase, had done some hard things to a poor man in his neighbourhood ; yet he had kept within the limits of the law, taking the advantage of some unguarded expression in a statute ; having a brother a justice of the peace, and enough acquainted with the law to do mischief, who had negociated the affair for him. As these two brothers were men of great fortune in the country, and over awed the neighbouring gentlemen, the poor man had nothing to do, but to sit quietly under his oppression. But while he was reconciling himself to what had happened, some of his friends put him upon applying, in the way of a complaint, to
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the bishop of Worcester, whose character, as the common patron of the poor and oppressed, was every where much spoken of. The poor man approved the advice, and taking a journey to the bishop, acquainted him with the whole affair. The bishop heard his story, pitied his case, and sent him home, with a promise of his protection. Accordingly, he soon after wrote to the justice, who had been the chief agent in the affair, and endeavoured, by proper arguments, to raise in him a sense of the injury he had been guilty of; speaking his mind very freely both of him and his brother, yet treating them, at the same time, with proper civility. The two gentlemen were greatly incensed at this letter, and answered it in the spirit of detected guilt: "They had done only what was right, and would abide by it: that, as for the sufferer, the law was open; and, as for him, they could not but think he interfered very impertinently in an affair which did not concern him." But in the bishop of Worcester they had not to do with a person, who was easily shaken from an honest purpose. He acquainted them, in few words, "That if the cause of his complaint was not forthwith removed, he certainly would himself lay the whole affair before the king." And he had been, without doubt, as good as his word; but his adversaries did not care to put him to a trial.

Having now been about two years resident in his diocese, he was called up again to town,
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in the year 1539, to attend the business of parliament. Soon after his arrival in London, he was accused before the king of preaching a seditious sermon. The sermon was preached at court, and the preacher, according to his custom, had been, unquestionably, severe enough against whatever he observed amiss, His accuser, who is said to have been a person of great eminence about the king, was most probably the bishop of Winchester. But Latimer being called upon by the king, with some sternness, to vindicate himself, was so far from denying, or even palliating, what he had said, that he boldly justified it; and turning to the king, with that noble unconcern which a good conscience inspires, made this answer: "I never thought myself worthy, nor I never sued to be a preacher before your grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike me, to give place to my betters; for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am; and if it be your grace's pleasure to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire you to give me leave to discharge my conscience, and to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt indeed, to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace." The greatness of this answer baffled his accuser's malice; the severity of the king's countenance changed into a gra-

cious smile ; and the bishop was dismissed with that obliging freedom, which this monarch never used, but to those whom he esteemed.

The parliament, which had been summoned to meet on the 28th of April, having now sat a week, and being ready to enter upon business, the lord chancellor, on the 5th of May, informed the lords from the king, " That his majesty had, with extreme uneasiness, observed the distracted condition of his subjects, with regard to religion ; that he had nothing so much at heart as to establish an uniformity of opinion amongst them ; and that he, therefore, desired the lords would immediately appoint a committee to examine the several opinions that prevailed, and to fix upon certain articles for a general agreement." It was the manner, it seems, of those times, to use no ceremony in fixing a standard for men to think by ; and to vary that standard with as little ceremony, as new modes of thinking prevailed. The parliament, therefore, without any difficulty, complied ; and named for a committee, the lord Cromwell, the two archbishops, and the bishops of Worcester, Ely, Durham, Bath and Wells, Carlisle, and Bangor. Men of so opposite a way of thinking were not likely to agree. After eleven days, therefore, spent in warm debates, nothing was concluded. This was no more than was expected, and made room for the farce which followed.

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On the twelfth day, the duke of Norfolk, according to the plan, which had been, without doubt, laid down, acquainted the lords, "That he found the committee had yet done nothing ; that eleven days had been already spent in wrangling, and that he saw no possibility of coming to an agreement in that way. He begged leave, therefore, to offer to their lordships consideration, some articles which he himself had drawn up, and which he desired might be examined by a committee of the whole house." He then read the articles, which were these.

1. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remained no substance of bread and wine, but the natural body and blood of Christ.

2. That vows of chastity ought to be observed.

3. That the use of private masses should be continued.

4. That communion in both kinds was not necessary.

5. That priests might not marry.

6. That auricular confession should be retained in the church.

The act of the six articles, (for so it was named) no sooner passed, than it gave an universal alarm to all the favourers of reformation. The bishop of Worcester was among those who first took offence at it ; and, as he could not give his vote for the act, he thought it wrong to hold any office in a church where
such

such terms of communion were required. He resigned his bishopric, therefore, and retired into the country. It is related of him, that when he came from the parliament house to his lodgings, he threw off his robes, and leaping up, declared to those who stood about him, "That he thought himself lighter, than ever he found himself before."

In consequence of this, he immediately retired into the country, where he thought of nothing, for the remainder of his days, but a sequestered life. But in the midst of his security, he received a bruise by the fall of a tree, and the contusion was so dangerous, that he was obliged to seek out for better assistance than could be afforded him by the unskilful surgeons of those parts; with which view he repaired again to London. Here he found things still in a worse condition than he left them. Upon Lord Cromwell's fall, the persecution against the protestants had broke out in earnest. The duke of Norfolk, and the bishop of Winchester, who were the principal instruments in the ruin of that minister, were now at the head of the popish party: under the direction of these zealots, the sword was presently unsheathed; and such a scene of blood was opened, as England had not yet seen. Mr. Latimer, among others, felt the effects of their bigotry. Gardiner's emissaries soon found him out, and something, that somebody had somewhere heard him say against the six articles, being alledged against him, he was sent

to the Tower. Into what particulars his accusation was afterwards digested, or whether into any, we meet with no account. It is rather probable, that nothing formal was brought against him; for we do not find he was ever judicially examined. He suffered, however, through one pretence or other, a cruel imprisonment during the remainder of king Henry's reign.

But after remaining in the Tower upwards of six years, in the constant practice of every Christian virtue, that becomes a suffering state, immediately, upon the change of the government, under Edward VI. he, and all others who were imprisoned in the same cause, were set at liberty; and bishop Latimer, whose old friends were now in power, was received by them, with every mark of affection. Heath, who had succeeded him in the bishopric of Worcester, observing his credit at court, and fearing, lest it should be thought proper to re-instate him, was in a great dilemma how to conduct himself. Making false judgments, therefore, he applied to the papists, instead of the protestants. His party, and his folly, for he was, in every respect, an insignificant man, laid him so exceedingly open, that Mr. Latimer would have found no difficulty in dispossessing him. But when the parliament, which was then sitting, sent up an address to the protector, begging him to restore Mr. Latimer to the bishopric of Worcester,

cester, on the resumption being proposed to him, he desired to be excused, alledging his great age, and the claim he had from thence to a private life. In this manner were the fears of Dr. Heath quieted, and Mr. Latimer, having rid himself of all incumbrances, accepted an invitation from his friend, archbishop Cranmer, and took up his residence at Lambeth, where he led a very retired life.

We call it retired, because he saw little company, and never interfered in public affairs. His chief employment was to hear the complaints, and to redress the injuries, of the poor people; and his character for services of this kind was so universally known, that strangers, from every part of England, would resort to him, vexed either by the delays of public courts and offices, or harrassed by the oppressions of the great. "I cannot go to my book, (says he, giving an account of these avocations) for poor folks that come unto me, desiring that I will speak, that their matters may be heard. Now and then I walk in my lord of Canterbury's garden, looking in my book; but I can do but little good at it; for I am no sooner in the garden, and have read a little while, but by and by cometh some one or other knocking at the gate. Anon cometh my man, and saith, Sir, there is one at the gate would speak with you. When I come there, then it is some one or other that desireth me that I will speak, that his matter may be heard;

heard ; or that telleth me he hath lain this long time at great costs and charges, or that he cannot once have his matter come to an hearing."

In these employments he spent more than two years ; for, besides the distrust he had of his own judgment, he was a man of such exactness in his principles and practice, that he could scarce have made those allowances for men and measures, which prudent counsellors must make in corrupt times ; and was backward, therefore, in drawing upon himself such engagements, as might lead him, more or less, into a deviation from truth. We find him, however, at this time, engaged in assisting archbishop Cranmer to compose the homilies, which were set forth by authority, in the first year of king Edward. A useful work this was, intended to supply the want of preaching, which was now at a very low ebb.

We have had frequent occasion to mention Mr. Latimer as a preacher ; as indeed he was one of the most eloquent and popular of the age in which he lived ; but at this time he appeared in that character in a more advantageous light than he had yet done ; having been appointed, during the three first years of king Edward, to preach the Lent sermons before the king.

As to his sermons, which are still extant, they are far from being exact pieces of composition. Elegant writing was then little known ; yet his simplicity, and low familiari-

ty, his humour and gibing drollery, were well adapted to the times; and his oratory, according to the mode of eloquence at that day, was exceeding popular. His manner of preaching too was very affecting; and no wonder; for he spoke immediately from his heart.

In his last sermon, which he acquaints his audience, shall be the last he will ever preach in that place, he touches upon all the particular corruptions of the age. He begins it thus: "Take heed, and beware of covetousness: take heed, and beware of covetousness; take heed, and beware of covetousness: take heed, and beware of covetousness: and what if I should say nothing else, these three or four hours, but these words? — Great complaints there are of it, and much crying out, and much preaching; but little amendment. Ye nobles, (says he) I wot not what rule ye keep, but, for God's sake, hear the complaints of the poor. Many complain against you, that ye lie in bed till eight, nine, or ten o'clock. I cannot tell what revel ye have over night, whether banquetting, dicing, carding, or how it is: but in the morning, when poor suiters come to your houses, ye cannot be spoke with. They are kept sometimes without your gates; or, if they be let into the hall, or some outer chamber, out cometh one or other, Sir, you cannot speak with my lord yet, he is asleep. And thus poor suiters are driven from day to day, that they cannot speak with you. For God's love,
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look better to it ; speak with poor men, when they come to your houses, and dispatch poor suiters. I went one day myself, betimes in the morning, to a great man's house, to speak with him of business. And methought, I was up betimes : but when I came thither, the great man was gone forth about such affairs as be-hoved him. Well, thought I, this is well : I like this. This man doth somewhat regard his duty. I came too late for my own matter, and lost my journey ; but I was glad to be so beguiled. For God's sake, ye great men, follow this example : rise in the morning : be ready for suiters that resort to you ; and dispatch them out of hand. — In the city of Corinth, one had married his step-mother : he was a jolly fellow, a great rich man, belike an alderman of the city, and so they winked at it, and would not meddle with the matter. But St. Paul hearing of it, wrote unto them, and, in God's behalf, charged them to do away such abomination from among them : nor would he leave them, till he had excommunicated that wicked person. If ye now should excommunicate all such wicked persons, there would be much ado in England. But the magistrates shew favour to such, and will not suffer them to be rooted out, or put to shame. Oh ! he is such a man's servant, we may not meddle with him. Oh ! he is a gentleman, we may not put him to shame. And so lechery is used throughout all England ; and such lechery as is used in no other part of the world.

And yet it is made a matter of sport, a laughing matter, not to be heeded. But beware, ye magistrates ; for God's love beware of this leaven. I would wish that Moses's law might be restored for punishment of lechery.----Fear not man, but God. If there be a judgment between a poor man, and a great man, what, must there be a corruption of justice ? Oh ! he is a great man, I dare not displease him. Fie upon thee ! art thou a judge, and wilt be afraid to give right judgment ? Fear him not, be he never so great a man, but uprightly do true justice. Likewise some pastors go from their cure ; they are afraid of the plague ; they dare not come nigh any sick body ; but hire others, and they go away themselves. Out upon thee ! the wolf cometh upon thy flock to devour them ; and, when they have most need of thee, thou runnest away from them. The soldier, also, that should go to war, will draw back as much as he can. Oh ! I shall be slain. Oh ! such and such went, and never came back. Such men went into Norfolk, and were slain there. But, if the king commandeth thee to go, thou art bound to go. Follow thy occupation ; in serving the king, thou shalt serve God.

“ Ye bribers, that go about secretly taking bribes, have in your minds, when ye devise your secret fetches, how Elizeus's servant was served, and was openly known ; for God's proverb will be true ; ‘ There is nothing hid, that shall not be revealed.’ He that took the
silver

silver basin and ewer for a bribe, thinketh that it will never come out ; but he may now know that I know it ; and not only I, but there be many more that know it. It will never be merry in England till we have the skins of such : for what needeth bribing, where men do their business uprightly ? I have to lay out for the king three thousand pounds : well, when I have laid it out, and bring in mine account, I must give three hundred marks to have my bills warranted. If I have done truly and uprightly, what need I give a penny to have my bills warranted ? If I do bring in a true account, wherefore should one groat be given ? Smell ye nothing in this ? What need any bribes be given, except the bills be false ?—Well, such practice hath been in England ; but beware, it will out one day.—And here now I would speak to you, my masters minters, augmentationers, receivers, surveyors, and auditors : ye are known well enough what ye were afore ye came to your offices, and what lands ye had then, and what ye have purchased since, and what buildings ye make daily. Well : I doubt not but there be some good officers among you, but I will not swear for all :—and, for the love of God, let poor workmen be paid. They make their moan, that they can get no money. The poor labourers, gun-makers, powder-men, bow-makers, arrow-makers, smiths, carpenters, and other crafts, cry for their wages. They be unpaid, some of them three or four

months, some of them half a year; yea, some of them put up their bills this time twelve-month for their money, and cannot yet be paid.—The first Lent I preached here, I preached of restitution. ‘Restitution!’ quoth some, ‘What should he preach of restitution? Let him preach of contrition, and let restitution alone: we can never make restitution.’ Then, say I, if thou wilt not make restitution, thou shalt go to the devil. Now choose thee, either restitution, or damnation. There be two kinds of restitution, secret and open: and whether of the two be used, if restitution be made, it is well enough. At my first preaching of restitution, one man took remorse of conscience, and acknowledged to me that he had deceived the king; and was willing to make restitution: so, the first Lent, twenty pounds came to my hands for the king’s use. I was promised twenty pounds more the same Lent, but it could not be made up, so that it came not. Well, the next Lent, came three hundred and twenty pounds more; I received it myself, and paid it to the king’s council. There I was asked, what he was that had thus made restitution? But should I have named him? Nay, they should as soon have had this weasand of mine. Well; now this Lent came one hundred and eighty pounds more, which I have paid this very day to the king’s council: and so this man hath made a goodly restitution. If every one who hath beguiled the king, (said I to a certain nobleman, who is

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one of the king's council) should make restitution after this sort, it would cough up the king, I warrant you, twenty thousand pounds. 'Yea,' quoth the other, 'a whole hundred thousand pounds.' Alack! alack! make restitution; for God's sake make restitution: you will cough in hell else, that all the devils will laugh at your coughing. There is no remedy, restitution or hell. Now this is of secret restitution. Some examples have been of open restitution. I am not afraid to name one: it was master Sherington, an honest gentleman, and one that God loveth. He openly confessed, that he had deceived the king, and made open restitution. Oh, what an argument may he have against the devil!"

From this time we meet with no accounts of Mr. Latimer, during the remainder of king Edward's reign. It seems most probable, that, upon the revolution at court, he retired into the country, and made use of the king's licence, as a general preacher, in those parts where he thought his labours might be most useful: but, upon the accession of queen Mary, he soon lost this liberty. The bishop of Winchester, who had proscribed him with the first, sent a messenger to cite him before the council. He had notice of this design some hours before the messenger's arrival, but he made no use of the intelligence; like other eminent reformers of that time, he chose rather to meet, than avoid a question.

The messenger therefore found him equipped for his journey : at which expressing his surprize, Mr. Latimer told him, That he was as ready to attend him to London, thus called upon to answer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life : and, that he doubted not but that God, who had already enabled him to stand before two princes, would enable him to stand before a third. The messenger then acquainting him, that he had no orders to seize his person, delivered a letter and departed. From which it is plain, they chose rather to drive him out of the kingdom, than to bring him to any public question. They well knew the firmness of his mind; and were afraid, as Mr. Fox observes, “ lest his constancy should deface them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth.”

Mr. Latimer, however, opening the letter, and finding it to contain a citation from the council, resolved to obey it. He set out, therefore, immediately for London. As he passed through Smithfield, where heretics were usually burnt, he said chearfully, “ This place hath long groaned for me.” The next morning he waited upon the council, who, having loaded him with many severe reproaches, sent him to the Tower.

This was but a repetition of a former part of his life ; only he now met with harsher treatment, and had more frequent occasion to exercise his resignation; which virtue no man possessed

possessed in a larger measure. Nay, even the usual chearfulness of his disposition did not now forsake him ; of which we have one instance still remaining. A servant leaving his apartment, Mr. Latimer called after him, and bid him tell his master, That, unless he took better care of him, he would certainly escape him.—Upon this message, the lieutenant, with some discomposure in his countenance, came to Mr. Latimer, and desired an explanation of what he had said to his servant. “ Why, you expect, I suppose, Sir,” replied Mr. Latimer, “ that I should be burned ; but, if you do not allow me a little fire, this frosty weather, I can tell you I shall first be starved.”

On the subsequent disputation between the popish and protestant divines, appointed at Oxford, Latimer, with the other bishops, was sent down to that city : where they were all closely confined in the common prison. In this comfortless situation their chief resource was in prayer, in which they spent great part of every day. Mr. Latimer, particularly, would often continue kneeling till he was not able to rise without help. The principal subject of his prayers was, that God would enable him to maintain the profession of his religion to the last ; that God would again restore his Gospel to England, and preserve the princess Elizabeth to be a comfort to this land.

Mr. Fox has preserved a conference, afterwards put into writing, which was held at this

time, between Ridley, bishop of London, and bishop Latimer. Ridley, of all the reforming divines of that time, approached the nearest to the church of England in her present purity of doctrines and discipline. His notions of ecclesiastical polity were high, but, in general, just; and, in the œconomy of the church, he allowed an equitable regard to the authority of the state. He saw, and avoided, but could bear with the errors of all parties among the reformed; while the dignity, the affability, and the modesty of his behaviour, gave him a general esteem with all ranks of men. But, as the conference is worth the reader's notice, and may, without any great interruption, be inserted in this place, we shall take such passages from it as we think worth preserving.

The two bishops are represented sitting in their prison, ruminating upon the solemn preparations then making for their trial, of which probably they were now first informed. Bishop Ridley first broke silence. "The time," said he, "is now come; we are now called upon either to deny our faith, or to suffer death in its defence. You, Mr. Latimer, are an old soldier of Christ, and have frequently withstood the fear of death; whereas I am raw in the service, and unexperienced." With this preface he introduces a request, that Mr. Latimer, whom he calls his father, would hear him propose such arguments as he thought it most likely his adversaries would urge against him,

him, and assist him in providing himself with proper answers to them. To this, Mr. Latimer, in his usual strain of good-humour, answered, 'That, he fancied, the good bishop was treating him, as he remembered Mr. Bilney used formerly to do, who, when he wanted to teach him, would always do it under colour of being taught himself. "But, in the present case," says he, "my lord, I am determined, for myself, to give them very little trouble. I shall just offer them a plain account of my faith and shall say very little more; for I know any thing more will be to no purpose. They talk of a free disputation; but, I am well assured, their grand argument will be, as it was once their forefathers, We have a law, and by our law ye ought to die." However, upon Mr. Ridley's pressing his request, they entered upon the examination he desired.

This part of their conference contains little curious, only the common arguments against the tenets of popery. When they had finished this exercise, Ridley breaks out in this pathetic strain.

"Thus you see, good father, how I would prepare myself for my adversary; and how I would learn, by practice, to be expert in those weapons which I shall presently be obliged to wield. In Tine-dale, upon the borders of Scotland, the place of my nativity, I have known my countrymen watch night and day in arms; especially when they had notice of any intended inroad from the Scots. And,

though by such bravery many of them lost their lives, yet they defended their country, died in a good cause, and intailed the love of the neighbourhood upon their posterity. And shall not we watch in the cause of Christ, and in the defence of our religion, whereon depend all our hopes of immortality? Shall we not go always armed? ever ready to receive a watchful foe? Let us then awake; and, taking the cross upon our shoulders, let us follow our captain, Christ, who, by his own blood, hath hallowed the way that leadeth to God.— Thus, good father, I have opened my heart freely unto you. And now, methinks, I see you just about to lift up your eyes to Heaven, in your accustomed manner, and turning your prophetic countenance upon me, thus to speak: ‘Trust not, my son, (I pray you vouchsafe me the honour of this name, for in it I shall think myself both honoured by you and loved) trust not, I say, my son, to these word-weapons, but remember what our Lord says, ‘It shall be given you in that same hour what you shall speak.’ Pray for me, O father, pray for me, that I may throw my whole care upon God; and may trust in him only in my distresses.”

“Of my prayers,” replied the old bishop, “you may be well assured; nor do I doubt but I shall have your’s in return. And, indeed, prayer and patience should be our great resources. For myself, had I the learning of St. Paul, I should think it ill laid out upon an elaborate

elaborate defence. Yet our case, my lord, admits of comfort. Our enemies can do no more than God permits; and God is faithful; who will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength. Be at a point with them; stand to that, and let them say and do what they please. To use many words would be vain; yet it is requisite to give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will hear you. For other things, in a wicked judgment-hall, a man may keep silence after the example of Christ. As for their sophistry, you know falsehood may often be displayed in the colours of truth. But, above all things, be upon your guard against the fear of death. This is the great argument you must oppose. — Poor Shaxton! it is to be feared this argument had the greatest weight in his recantation. But let us be stedfast, and unmoveable; assuring ourselves that we cannot be more happy, than by being such Philippians, as not only believe in Christ, but dare suffer for his sake.”

In this convocation, which was held in St. Mary's hall, as specified in another place, and to which the queen had sent commissioners, the following articles were to be subscribed.

“ The natural body of Christ is really in the sacrament after the words spoken by the priest.

“ In the sacrament, after the words of consecration, no other substance does remain,
than

than the substance of the body and blood of Christ.

“ In the mass is a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and dead.”

Dr. Ridley was first brought in, but, being tendered to him, he, without any hesitation, denied them. Upon which the prolocutor appointed him a disputation-day, and dismissed him.

Bishop Latimer was introduced next, like a primitive martyr, in his prison attire. He had a cap upon his head, buttoned under his chin, a pair of spectacles hanging at his breast, a New Testament under his arm, and a staff in his hand. He was almost spent with pressing through the croud ; and the prolocutor ordering a chair to be brought for him, he walked up to it, and, saying he was a very old man, sat down without any ceremony. The articles were then read to him ; which he denied also. The prolocutor, upon this, telling him that he must dispute on the Wednesday following, the old bishop, with as much chearfulness as he would have shewn upon the most ordinary occasion, shaking his palsied head, answered, smiling, “ Indeed, gentlemen, I am just as well qualified to be governor of Calais.” He then complained, that he was very old, and very infirm ; and said, That he had the use of no book but that under his arm ; which he had read seven times over deliberately, without finding the least mention made of the mass.

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In this speech he gave great offence, by saying, in his humourous way, alluding to transubstantiation, that he could find neither the marrowbones, nor the sinews, of the mass in the New Testament. Upon which, the prolocutor cried out, with some warmth, that he would make him find both: and when Mr. Latimer, recollecting himself, was going to explain his meaning in that expression, he was not suffered to speak.

At length, the appointed day came for the archbishop's disputation. You might have known something very uncommon was in agitation; for the whole university was in motion: Almost at day-break the schools were thronged: About eight o'clock, the commissioners took their seats. But we will not delay the reader with the particulars of the day on which bishop Ridley disputed. His defence, indeed, was very animated; for he had great quickness of parts as well as learning: and yet he would have acted as wise a part, if he had taken his friend bishop Latimer's advice, and contented himself with giving a reasonable account of his faith.

The day after the bishop of London disputed, bishop Latimer was called into the schools. Dr. Weston, the prolocutor, rising up, acquainted his hearers, That the cause of their meeting was to defend the orthodox doctrine of transubstantiation; and to confute certain novel opinions, which had been lately propagated with great zeal in the nation.

“ And

“ And of you, father,” said he, turning to the bishop, “ I beg, if you have any thing to say, that you will be as concise as possible.” This was spoke in Latin. Upon which the bishop answered, “ I hope, Sir, you will give me leave to speak what I have to speak in English : I have been very little conversant in the Latin tongue these twenty years.” The prolocutor consented : and the bishop, having thanked him, replied, “ I will just beg leave then, Sir, to protest my faith ; indeed I am not able to dispute, I will protest my faith, and you may then do with me just what you please.”

Upon this he took a paper out of his pocket, and began to read his protestation. But he had not proceeded many minutes, when a murmur arose on every hand, encreasing by degrees into a clamour ; which the prolocutor was so far from checking, that, in a very indecent manner he patronised it, calling out, with some circumstances of rudeness, upon the bishop to desist.—The old man, surprised with this sudden tumult of ill-manners, paused in admiration at it ; but presently recovering himself, he turned to the prolocutor, and said, with some vehemence, “ In my time I have spoken before two kings, and have been heard for some hours together, without interruption : here I cannot be permitted one quarter of an hour.----Dr. Weston, I have frequently heard of you before, but I think I never saw you till now. I perceive you have great wit, and great learning : God grant you may make a
right

right use of these gifts!" Other things he said; but these are the principal. His speech had its effect. The prolocutor took his paper, and said he would read it himself. But whether he could not read it, or would not, he presently laid it down, and called out to the bishop, "Since you refuse to dispute, will you then subscribe?" Upon his answering in the negative, Weston artfully led him, by a train of familiar questions, into an argument; and, when he thought he had raised him to a proper pitch, he gave a sign to Dr. Smith, the opponent, to begin; who, being prepared, rose up, and, in a pompous manner, prefaced the disputation, and gave out the question.—When he had done, the old bishop gravely answered, "I am sorry, Sir, that this worshipful audience must be disappointed in their expectation. I have already spoken my mind."

The prolocutor observing this, began again in his artful manner to draw Mr. Latimer into an argument, "Pray, Sir, how long have you been in prison?" "About nine months, Sir." "But I was imprisoned," said Weston, "six years." "I am heartily sorry for it, Sir." "I think you were once, Mr. Latimer, of our way of thinking?" "I was, Sir." "I have heard too, that you have said mass in your time?" "I have, Sir."—He then asked him, Why he altered his opinion? and thus, by degrees, led him to answer the chief arguments brought from scripture

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ture in favour of transubstantiation. They then began to ply him with the fathers ; and, first, a passage from Hillary was quoted. As he was about to answer, one of the commissioners called out to him, (on account of the populace, most probably,) “ Mr. Latimer, speak in Latin ; speak in Latin ; I know you can do it, if you please.” But the bishop, saying he had the prolocutor’s leave, went on in English, and told them, That, as for the passage from Hillary, which they had quoted, he really could not see that it made much for them ; but he would answer them by another quotation from Melancthon ; who says, That, if the fathers had foreseen how much weight their authority was to have in this controversy, they would have written with more caution.”

But the opponent, not being satisfied with this, begged leave to reduce the words of Hillary into a syllogistic argument, and begins thus : “ Such as is the unity of our flesh with Christ’s flesh, such, nay greater, is the unity of Christ with the Father. But the unity of Christ’s flesh with our flesh, is true and substantial. Therefore, the unity of Christ with the Father, is true and substantial.”---Here he paused, expecting that the bishop would deny his major or his minor, as the logicians speak. But, instead of that, he answered gravely, “ You may go on, Sir, if you please ; but, upon my word, I do not understand you.”

The jargon of this learned doctor being silenced, others attacked him, but with equal success. He answered their questions, as far as civility required, but none of them could engage him in any formal disputation: and, when proofs from the fathers were multiplied upon him, he at length told them plainly, That such proofs had no weight with him; that the fathers, no doubt, were often deceived; and, that he never depended upon them, but when they depended upon scripture. "Then you are not of St. Chrysostom's faith," replied his antagonist, "nor of St. Austin's?" "I have told you," said Mr. Latimer, "I am not, except when they bring scripture for what they say."

Little more was said, when the prolocutor, finding it was impossible to urge him into a controversy, rose up, and dissolved the assembly; crying out to the populace, "Here you all see the weakness of heresy, opposed against the truth. Here is a man who, adhering to his errors, hath given up the gospel, and rejected the fathers." The old bishop made no reply; but, wrapping his gown about him, and taking up his New Testament, and his staff, walked out as unconcerned as he came in.

Thus he maintained, to the last, his resolution of not disputing; a resolution which he had not hastily taken. Mr. Addison, in his four hundred and sixty-fifth Spectator, greatly admires

admires his behaviour on this occasion. "This venerable old man," says he, "knowing how his abilities were impaired by age, and that it was impossible for him to recollect all those reasons which had directed him in the choice of his religion, left his companions, who were in the full possession of their parts and learning, to baffle and confound their antagonists by the force of reason. As for himself, he only repeated to his adversaries the articles in which he firmly believed, and in the profession of which he was determined to die."

These solemn disputations being thus at an end, nothing now remained but to pass sentence. On the Friday following, therefore, the commissioners, seated in their accustomed form, sent for the bishops to St. Mary's church: where, after some affected exhortations to recant, the prolocutor first excommunicated, and then condemned them. As soon as the sentence was read, bishop Latimer, lifting up his eyes, cried out, "I thank God, most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end!" To which the prolocutor replied, "If you go to heaven in this faith, I am thoroughly persuaded I shall never get there."

Three quarters of a year after these proceedings, for so long the bishops lay in Oxford prison, a new commission came down, consisting of the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol. These prelates were again to examine
their

their heretical brethren ; and, if still refractory, to consign them to the flames ; which commission was also confirmed by the pope : and, as it was the first judicial act, since the restitution of popery, in which his holiness interfered, the utmost respect which the university could pay to his delegates, was deemed only a proper testimony of its zeal. Their compliments being sufficiently discharged, on the thirtieth of September, 1555, the commissioners seating themselves in great state in the divinity-school, the two bishops were called before them. The bishop of London was first questioned. Then bishop Latimer was brought in ; to whom Lincoln, who was a polite and very eloquent man, spoke to this effect.

“ This parchment, Mr. Latimer, contains a commission from my lord cardinal Pole, under his holiness, directed to me and these two reverend prelates, by which we are enjoined to examine you upon some points of faith, in which your orthodoxy is doubted : we are required to press you to revoke your errors, if you still hold these pernicious opinions ; and to cut you off from the church, if you persist, and give you up to the civil power. Consider, Mr. Latimer, it is not more than twenty years since these novel opinions got footing amongst us. Till then the authority of the church of Rome was universally acknowledged. By what means it was first questioned in England, and on what unjustifiable motives a schism was occasioned, I might easily shew
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at large—but I spare the dead. Let it suffice, that the nation, having long sought rest in a multiplicity of new inventions, and found none, hath again submitted itself to its mother church; and, by one unanimous act, the result of penitence and contrition, hath atoned for its apostacy. Why then should you oppose the unanimity of a whole people? Confess your fault, and unite your penitence with theirs. It hath been a common error, let it be a general humiliation. Among such numbers, the shame of each individual will be lost. Come then in peace, for we will kindly receive you into the bosom of that church, whose authority, derived from the first apostle, depends on scriptures, fathers, and councils; that church, within which there can be no error, and without which there can be no salvation.”

Here the bishop pausing, Mr. Latimer stood up, and thanked him for his gentle treatment of him; but, at the same time, assured him, how vain it was to expect from him any acknowledgment of the pope. He did not believe, he said, that any such jurisdiction had been given to the see of Rome, nor had the bishops of Rome behaved as if their power had been from God. He then quoted a popish book, which had lately been written, to shew how grossly the papists would misrepresent scripture: and concluded with saying, that he thought the clergy had nothing to do with temporal power, nor ought ever to be intrusted with it; and that their commission
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from their master, in his opinion, extended no farther than to the discharge of their pastoral functions. To this the bishop of Lincoln replied, "That he thought his stile not quite so decent as it might be ; and that as to the book which he quoted, he knew nothing of it." At this the old bishop seemed to express his surprize, and told him, that although he did not know the author of it, yet it was written by a person of name, the bishop of Gloucester.

This produced some mirth among the audience, as the bishop of Gloucester sat then upon the bench. That prelate, finding himself thus publicly challenged, rose up, and, addressing himself to Mr. Latimer, paid him some compliments upon his learning, and then spoke in vindication of his book. But his zeal carrying him too far, the bishop of Lincoln, interrupting him, said, "We came not here my lord, to dispute with Mr. Latimer, but to take his answer to certain articles, which shall be proposed to him."

These articles were much the same as those on which he had been brought to dispute the year before. They were accordingly read, and Mr. Latimer answered them all, as he then did ; at the same time protesting, which protestation he begged might be registered, that, notwithstanding his answers to the pope's commissioners, he by no means acknowledged the authority of the pope. The notaries having taken down his answers and protestation,

testation, the bishop of Lincoln told him, "That, as far as he could, he would shew lenity to him : that the answers which he had now given in, should not be prejudicial to him ; but that he should be called upon the next morning, when he might make what alterations he pleased ; and that he hoped in God, he would then find him in a better temper." To this the old bishop answered, "That he begged, they would do with him then just what they pleased, and that he might not trouble them, nor they him, another day ; that as to his opinions, he was fixed in them, and that any respite would be needless." The bishop, however, told him, that he must appear the next morning, and then dissolved the assembly.

Accordingly, the next morning, the commissioners sitting in the same form, he was brought in : and when the tumult was composed, the bishop of Lincoln told him, that although he might justly have proceeded to judgment against him, the day before, yet he could not help postponing it one day longer. "In hopes, said he, Sir, that you might reason yourself into a better way of thinking, and at length embrace, what we all so much desire, that mercy, which our holy church now, for the last time, offereth to you." "Alas ! my lord, answered Mr. Latimer, your indulgence is to no purpose. When a man is convinced of a truth, even to deliberate is unlawful. I am fully resolved against the church

church of Rome ; and, once for all, my answer is, I never will embrace its communion. If you urge me farther, I will reply as St. Cyprian did, on a like occasion. He stood before his judges, upon a charge of heresy ; and being asked, which were more probably of the church of Christ, he and his party, who were every where despised, or they, his judges, who were every where in esteem ; he answered resolutely, “ That Christ had decided that point, when he mentioned it, as a mark of his disciples, that they should take up their cross and follow him.” If this then, my lords, be one of the characteristics of the Christian church, whether shall we denominate by that name, the church of Rome, which hath always been a persecutor, or that small body of Christians, which is persecuted by it ?” “ You mention, Sir, replied Lincoln, with a bad grace, your cause and St. Cyprian’s together : they are wholly different.” “ No, my lord, answered the old bishop, his was the word of God, and so is mine.”

The notaries having now closed the books, the bishop of Lincoln, who, through the whole of this cruel business, had acted with as much humanity, rather than decency, as was possible, once more pressed Mr. Latimer, in a very pathetic manner, to retract his opinion : but being answered by a steady negative, he at length passed sentence upon him. Mr. Latimer then asked him, whether there laid any appeal from this judgment ? “ To whom, said the bishop

of Lincoln, would you appeal?" "To the next general council, answered Mr. Latimer, that shall be regularly assembled." "It will be a long time, replied the bishop, before Europe will see such a council as you mean." Having said this, he committed Mr. Latimer to the custody of the mayor, and dissolved the assembly. On the same day, likewise, sentence was passed on the bishop of London, and the 16th of October, about a fortnight from this time, was fixed for their execution.

On the north side of the town, near Baliol-college, a spot of ground was chosen for the place of execution. Hither, on the sixteenth, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and other persons of distinction, appointed for that purpose, repaired early in the morning; and a guard being drawn round the place, the prisoners were sent for. The bishop of London first entered this dreadful circle, accompanied by the mayor: soon after, bishop Latimer was brought in. The former was dressed in his episcopal habit; the latter, as usual, in his prison-attire. This difference in their dress made a moving contrast, and augmented the concern of the spectators: the bishop of London shewing what they had before been; bishop Latimer, what they were now reduced to.

While they stood before the stake, about to prepare themselves for the fire, they were informed, they must first hear a sermon; and, soon after, Dr. Smith, of whom mention hath
already

already been made, ascended a pulpit, prepared for that purpose, and preached on these words of St. Paul, "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing?" In his discourse he treated the two bishops with great inhumanity, aspersing both their characters and tenets.

The sermon being ended, the bishop of London was beginning to say something in defence of himself, when the vice chancellor, starting up suddenly from his seat, ran towards him, and stopping his mouth with his hand, told him, "That if he was going to recant, he should have leave: but he should be permitted in nothing farther." The bishop, thus checked, looking round, with a noble air, cried out, "We commit our cause then to Almighty God." And immediately an officer stepped up, and acquainted them, "That, at their leisure, they might now make ready for the stake."

The attention of the spectators, at length, burst into tears, when they saw these two venerable men now preparing for death. When they considered, as Mr. Fox observes, their preferments, the places of honour they held in the commonwealth, the favour they stood in with their princes, their great learning, and greater piety, they were overwhelmed with sorrow to see so much dignity, so much honour, so much estimation, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, and so much excellent learning, about to be con-

fumed in one moment. Mr. Latimer, having thrown off the old gown, which was wrapped about him, appeared in a shroud, prepared for the purpose ; and “ whereas before, says Mr. Fox, he seemed a withered and crooked old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father, as one might lightly behold.”

Being thus ready, he recommended his soul to God, and delivered himself to the executioner, saying to the bishop of London, “ We shall this day, my lord, light such a candle in England, as shall never be extinguished.” But we will draw a veil over the conclusion of this shocking scene, and only add, that they went through their last suffering with that composure and firmness of mind, which nothing but a sound faith and a good conscience could produce.





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THE LIFE OF

JOHN HOOPER.

THIS great divine, who was born in 1495, was a native of Somersetshire, and received his academical education at Merton-college in Oxford, where he was sent in 1514, and placed under the tuition of his uncle John Hooper, who was made master-fellow of that house in 1513, and was also principal of St. Alban's-hall. In 1518, John Hooper, the nephew, was admitted batchelor of arts, which was the highest degree he took in this university; and, about the same time, completed it by determination. What became of him after, is not exactly known; but it is reported, that he was of the number of Cistercians, commonly called White Monks, and continued so for years, till he grew weary of a monastic life, and returned to Oxford, where he was converted to Lutheranism by books brought from Germany, and soon became a zealous protestant.

In 1539, when the statute of the six articles was put in execution, he left Oxford, and got into the service of Sir Thomas Arundel, a Devonshire gentleman, to whom he became chaplain, and steward of his estate. This gentleman was a very catholic knight, and was af-

terwards put to death with the protector, in the reign of Edward VI. He soon discovered that Hooper was a protestant, who thereby lost his protection, and was obliged to fly into France, where he continued some time among the reformed, till his dislike of some of their proceedings made him return to England.

On his arrival in his native country, he lived with a gentleman named Seintlow, where he became known, and was sought after, to be apprehended. Upon this, he disguised himself like a sailor, and went to Ireland, from whence he went to Holland, and so on to Switzerland. Bullinger was then at Zurick, where he succeeded Zuinglius in the chair. He had been obliged to forsake his country on account of religion, and therefore gave a very friendly reception to Hooper, who was remarkable for his knowledge in the Greek and Hebrew languages.

Edward VI. came to the crown in 1547, and Hooper came to England again, when he settled in London, where he frequently preached to the people on several reformed doctrinal heads, and particularly against pluralities.

He was now appointed chaplain to the duke of Somerset, and, perhaps, was more severely treated on that account, when his great patron lost the protectorship. In 1549, he became an accuser of Bonner, when he was to be deprived of his bishopric, which made him
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fare the worse, when queen Mary came to the crown.

After Hooper had practised himself in his popular and common kind of preaching, he was called to preach before the king, who, in 1550, made him bishop of Gloucester, and, about two years after, he had the bishopric of Worcester given to him, to keep in commendam with the former. The earl of Warwick recommended Hooper to this preferment, as a man who had all those virtues and qualities required by St. Paul in a good bishop, in his epistle to Timothy. But Hooper, having resided in Switzerland, and imbibed some odd notions there, was the means of introducing those disputes about things indifferent, which have produced, since that time, such fatal consequences in the church.

It was customary to wear such garments and apparel as the popish bishops used; first, a chymere, and under that a white rochet; then a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. The most sensible men are not without their weaknesses and whims. Hooper was a man of learning, and of parts; but he had taken it into his head, that, as these sacerdotal vestments were mere human inventions, brought into the church by custom or tradition, and invented chiefly for celebrating the mass, and consecrated for that use, so they were therefore among the ceremonies condemned by St. Paul as beggarly elements. In answer to this, it

was told him, by archbishop Cranmer, and bishop Ridley, that, though tradition, in matters of faith, was justly to be rejected; yet, in rites and ceremonies which were indifferent, custom alone was a good argument for the continuance of that which had been long used. The archbishop, therefore, required Hooper to conform himself to the law, but he obstinately refused a rochet, and Cranmer refused to consecrate him without it. The earl of Warwick, who was then in the highest credit at court, wrote a letter to the archbishop, desiring him not to insist upon these ceremonies from the bishop elect of Gloucester; nor to charge him with an oath burthensome to his conscience.

Warwick also prevailed on the king to write a letter to Cranmer in favour of Hooper: but Cranmer still insisted that he should conform himself in all points; and denied him the liberty of the pulpit, while the council confined him to his house. Cranmer consulted Bucer and Martyr upon this occasion, who were also consulted by Hooper.

Hooper continued strong in his prepossession, and many arguments were urged on both sides; which later ages have more amply enlarged and explained. Hooper then published a confession of his faith; in which he complained of the privy-council. Upon this he was committed to the custody of the archbishop, who used all his endeavours to bring Hooper off from his singularities, but without effect.

effect. His grace then informed the council, that his prisoner was not content with his non-conformity, but had offered to prescribe rules on this head to the public; whereupon the council ordered his grace to send him to the Fleet: and he continued there till the next year.

At last the earl of Warwick deserted his chaplain; and the affair of Hooper, which had slept from August to March, whilst he remained in the Fleet, was resumed. He was brought before the council, to explain himself upon the difficulties which he had started. The objection he made to the oath was, The swearing by God, the saints, and the holy gospels, when none but God himself ought to be appealed to in an oath. Upon this the king struck out these words with his own hand, and allowed that no creature ought to be sworn by. As to the point about the vestments, it was compromised on these conditions: he was to wear the episcopal habit, which was prescribed when he was consecrated, and when he preached before the king, or in his cathedral, and in any public place; and, on other occasions, he was dispensed with.

Thus Hooper was consecrated bishop of Gloucester, on the eighth of March, 1551, and then preached before the king in his episcopal habit. When he entered into his diocese, "He left no pains untaken, nor ways unsought, how to train up the flock of

Christ in the true word of salvation, continually labouring in the same. He preached often, kept good hospitality for the poorer sort of people, and was beloved by all."

The see of Gloucester was looked upon as a poor pittance for so great a divine; and, on the twentieth of May, 1552, he was declared bishop of Worcester, in the room of Heath, who was then a prisoner in the Fleet, for refusing to assent to the book of ordinations. Hooper was permitted to hold Worcester in commendam with Gloucester; for which he was censured by the papists. "But let such know, that the dioceses of Gloucester and Worcester lie contiguous; that many single bishoprics in England are larger than both, for extent in land and number of parishes; that Dunstan had the bishopric of Worcester and Lincoln with it, at the same time, being far more remote; that it is not the having two bishoprics together, but the neglecting of one, is the sin: whereas Hooper, in preaching and visiting, afforded double diligence in his double dioceses."

When king Edward died, in 1553, religion was subverted, and this good bishop was one of the first that was sent for by queen Mary to be at London, to answer Heath, the deprived bishop, and Bonner, bishop of London, for being one of his accusers. Hooper was seasonably advised to make his escape; but he was determined to bear the storm, and said,

"Once

“ Once I fled, and took me to my feet ; now I will continue to live and die with my sheep.”

He was brought up to London by a pursuivant, in August, and was opprobiously received by the bishop of Winchester, who committed him prisoner to the Fleet on the first of September following. He remained there several months ; during which time he was often examined, and required to recant his opinions ; but he stood constant and resolute to the articles of his faith.

The council proceeded with vigour in matters of heresy, and removed Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, to dispute with some members of the convocation at Oxford, where they all suffered martyrdom. There was a design of the same nature to be executed at Cambridge, over some other bishops and eminent clergy, who were in the several prisons of Newgate, the Fleet, and the King's-bench : but the prisoners sent forth a declaration, signed by Hooper, Ferrars, Coverdale bishop of Exeter, and seven divines, that they would not dispute, unless in writing, except it were before the queen and her council, or one of the houses of parliament. To this declaration they added a summary of their belief ; for which, they said, they were ready to offer up their lives to the halter or the fire, as it should please God to appoint. This prevented any farther public conferences in religion ; and it was deter-

mined, to silence the protestants more effectually in another manner.

It was resolved that Hooper, as the most obnoxious to the government, if not the most popular in his own party, should be the leading sacrifice to popery. They called him before them on the twenty-first of January, 1555, and offered him a pardon by the name of John Hooper, clerk, not acknowledging him to have been a bishop, if he would confess his heresies, and return to the church; which he absolutely refused.

Three articles were then exhibited against him; for marrying, for allowing a divorce and second marriage in the case of fornication, and for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. Hooper owned himself guilty of the accusation, but offered to defend himself against all who should maintain the contrary. He behaved with all humility to the bishops, who treated him with the utmost insolence, and remanded him back to prison.

The two bloody bishops of London and Winchester had a personal animosity against Hooper, who behaved with all the constancy of a primitive martyr. He had kept up a correspondence with Bullinger, and others of the reformed abroad, to whom he sent his wife Anne and her children; and he was at very little pains to conceal his sentiments, none having been more active, or more successful, than he was in the cause of reformation.

Bullinger

Bullinger wrote him a letter from Zurich, dated the tenth of October, 1554. wherein he desires Hooper to commend him to the most reverend fathers and holy confessors of Christ, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. He exhorts them all to be strong in the Lord, fight a good fight, and be faithful unto the end; as Christ was their captain, and all the prophets, and apostles, and martyrs, their fellow soldiers.

The commissioners had declared that Hooper ought to be deprived of his bishopric, and he was brought before them again, on the twenty-second of January, at the bishop of Winchester's house at St. Mary Overey's. He was then asked to acknowledge the pope to be head of the church; which he denied, as the pope taught a doctrine directly contrary to the doctrine of Christ; therefore he would not condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction; neither esteemed he the church, of which they call him head, to be the catholic church of Christ: "for the church only heareth the voice of her spouse Christ, and flieth the strangers."

He was commanded back to the Fleet, and brought before the commissioners again on the twenty-eighth of January, together with Mr. John Rogers, vicar of St. Paul's. They were both examined, and sent away, to be brought into court the next morning, to see if they would relent. They were conducted
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to the Compter, in Southwark, by the sheriffs of London : and Hooper said to Rogers, as they walked through the street surrounded by the populace, “ Come, brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these faggots ? ” Rogers answered, “ Yes, sir, by God’s grace.” “ Doubt not,” replied Hooper, “ but God will give you grace ”

The next morning they were brought again before the commissioners, who sat in judgment in St. Mary-Overy’s church. Hooper would, by no means, condescend to the commissioners, who condemned him to be degraded, and ordered him to be carried to the Clink, a prison near the bishop of Winchester’s house; from whence he was removed to Newgate the same night. The people prayed for him as he was guarded through the streets : and he was kept close prisoner in Newgate six days.

During this time, he was frequently visited by Bonner and his chaplains, who vainly endeavoured to make him a convert to their church. They offered him wealth and preferment, which he despised ; and then they spread a report that he had recanted. This report soon came to his ears, at which he was greatly grieved ; and, on the second of February, wrote a letter to disprove that false and malicious story ; and, to assure the world, that he was more than ever confirmed in the protestant faith, saying, “ I have taught the truth with
my

my tongue, and with my pen heretofore, and hereafter shortly shall confirm the same, by God's grace, with my blood."

The bishop of London came to Newgate, and degraded Hooper; after reading the sentence of his degradation, wherein Hooper is called a presbyter, under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Winchester; by whose definitive sentence he was pronounced, "An open, obstinate, and incorrigible heretic;" and, as such, was to be degraded from his order; and, for these demerits, to be delivered to the secular power. In degrading this blessed bishop, they proceeded not against him as a bishop, but only as against a priest, as they termed him; for such as he was, these Balaamites accounted no bishop.

Rogers was degraded at the same time, and died a martyr in Smithfield: but Hooper was impolitically sent by the government to die at Gloucester, that the hearers of his doctrine might be the witnesses of his sufferings. By the order that was sent to burn him at Gloucester, the sheriff was directed to call in some of reputation in the county to assist at his execution; and, because he was, says the order, a vain-glorious person, as all heretics are, he was neither suffered to speak at large in going to his execution, nor at the place, for avoiding farther infection.

On the first of February, before day-light, he was brought by the sheriffs from Newgate,

to a place appointed near St. Dunstan's church in Fleet-street, where he was received by a body of the queen's guards, who were to carry him to Gloucester. He eat a hearty breakfast, and leaped chearfully on horseback without help. On the seventh he arrived at Gloucester, where he found all the citizens assembled to see him, who cried and lamented his condition.

The next morning some of his friends were permitted to see him, among whom was Sir Anthony Kingston, who found the good bishop at his prayers, and burst forth into tears as he spoke in this manner : " I understand you are come here to die ; but, alas ! consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter ; therefore, seeing life may be had, desire to live, for life hereafter may do good." The bishop answered, " Indeed I am come here to end this life, and to suffer death, because I will not gainsay the former truth that I have taught in this diocese and elsewhere. I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life ; but have settled myself, through the strength of God's holy spirit, patiently to pass through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than deny the truth of his word."

The same night he was committed by the guard to the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester, who, with the mayor and aldermen, attended him with great respect. He thanked them for their civility, and requested the sheriffs,

riffs, That there might be quick fire, shortly to make an end.—He told them, He was not come there as one compelled to die ; for it was well known, he might have had his life with worldly gain ; but, as one willing to offer and give his life for the truth, rather than consent to the wicked papistical religion of the bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates in England, to the high displeasure and dishonour of God ; and he trusted, by God's grace, the next day to die a faithful servant of God, and a true obedient subject to the queen ——He was not carried to the common jail of the city, called North-gate, but lodged in the house of Mr. Robert Ingram, where he spent the night in devotion.

About eight the next morning, being the fifth of February, 1555, the commissioners appointed to see the execution came to the house ; and at nine the bishop was brought down from his chamber by the sheriffs, and led to the stake between them, like a lamb going to the slaughter. It was market day, and about seven thousand people were assembled on the occasion ; which made him say, “ Alas ! why are these people here ? Perhaps they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past ; but, alas ! speech is prohibited me ; notwithstanding the cause of my death is well known unto them. When I was appointed here to be their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine out of the word
of

of God; because I will not now account the same to be heresy and untruth, this death is prepared for me."

He was dressed in a gown of his host's; a hat on his head, and a staff in his hand to support him, as the sciatica, which he had contracted in prison, made him halt. The people mourned for him all the way, and he looked very chearfully upon such as he knew. He frequently lifted up his eyes to Heaven, as he passed along; and he was never known, since his being their bishop, to look with so lively and chearful a countenance as he did at that time.

When he came to the stake, which was opposite the college of priests, where he used to preach, he beheld the preparations for his death with a composed and smiling countenance. The place was surrounded with spectators, and the priests of the college were in the chamber over the college-gate. As the bishop was not permitted to speak to the people, he kneeled down to prayer, and beckoned to Mr. Bridges, whom he knew, to hear it; which he did with great attention, and reported, that the prayer was made upon the whole Creed; wherein the bishop continued about half an hour, and declared his faith in the form of prayer. When he was in the middle of his prayer, a box was brought and laid before him on a stool, with his pardon from the queen, if he would recant. When he saw it,

it, he cried, "If you love my soul, away with it; if you love my soul, away with it." He was then permitted to proceed in his prayer, which he concluded in these words: "Lord strengthen me with thy goodness, that in the fire I break not the rules of patience; or else assuage the terror of the pains, as shall seem most to thy glory."

When prayer was done, he prepared himself for the stake, and was undressed to his shirt, which he thrust between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity delivered him by the guard. A flood of tears burst from the eyes of all the spectators as he was fastened to the stake, from whence he directed the executioner where to place the fire, which was soon kindled; but the wood burning ill, and the wind blowing away the flame, that it did not rise up and suffocate him, nor destroy his vitals, he was for a long time in the utmost torment. He frequently called to the people, for the love of God, to bring him more fire; which, though it was renewed, was prevented by the wind from putting him out of his misery, till he had been near three quarters of an hour in burning.

He wrote twenty-four books and treatises when in prison: besides, he wrote the Sacraments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. His writings are mostly these: Answer to Gardiner's book, intitled, "A Detection

tection of the Devil's Sophistry : A Declaration of Christ and his Office : Lesson of the Incarnation of Christ : Sermons on Jonas : A Godly Confession and Protestation of the Christian Faith ; Homily to be read in the Time of the Pestilence." All these were wrote from 1549 to 1553 : and he afterwards wrote " *Epistola ad Episcopos, &c.* An Exhortation to Patience," sent to his wife : " Sentences wrote in Prison : Comfortable Expositions on the twenty-third, sixty-second, seventy-third, and seventy-seventh Psalms : Annotations on the thirteenth chapter to the Romans : Twelve Lectures upon the Creed : Declaration of the Ten Holy Commandments of Almighty God : " and he also translated Tertullian's second book to his wife, concerning the choice of a husband or wife.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.



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